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He gets what we need
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A Catholic college forsaken
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FLY ME TO THE MOO

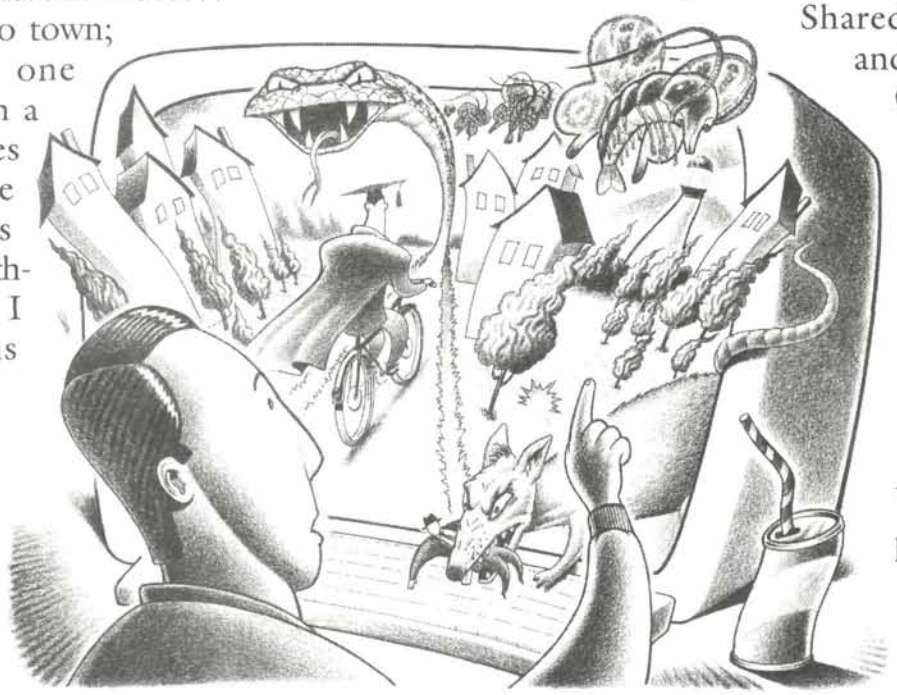
ADVENTURES IN TEXTUAL REALITY

I've been invited to join a freshman composition class at Mott Community College in Flint, Michigan. I live in New York; we're going to be meeting halfway, in Mushville. I was told to take the Internet and get off at palmer.sacc.colostate.edu 6250. My beat-up Mac gets me there in a couple of seconds. This is what I see:

```
A large cornfield ringed by trees,
somewhat misty around the edges. You
notice that there is a cheery bonfire
in the middle, surrounded by large
logs perfect for sitting on and
roasting marshmallows...
```

I walk into town; there's no one around. I'm a few minutes early. The town runs along a north-south street. I read signs pointing to the park, the library, a theater, and something called Writer's Block Café. I wait for velo to appear. Velo is a sentient bicycle— red, with shiny fenders. It is also the Mushville persona of Steve Robinson, the teacher running the class (which should be here any minute now). He warned me that he might be late—he still has to help some of the students log on.

I am waiting for velo and his class of thirty students in a MUSH called WriteMUSH. A MUSH is like a MOO, which is like a MUD. A MUD is a multi-user dungeon—a computer game. MUSHes (Multi-User Shared Hallucinations) and MOOs (MUD Object Oriented) are more fluid than games—they are virtual towns, or clubs, or cafés, or frontier lands, whose rules and personalities evolve over time. What makes this possible is the Internet.



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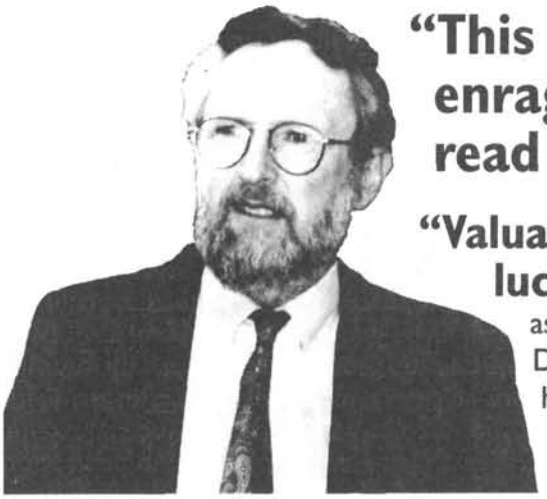

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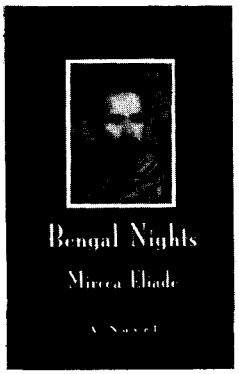
Versions of a Colonial Affair



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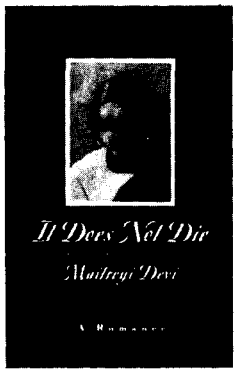

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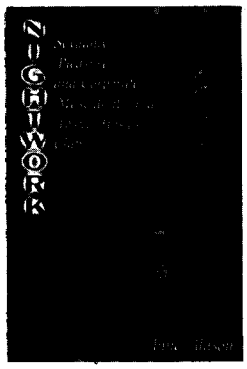

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Anne Allison

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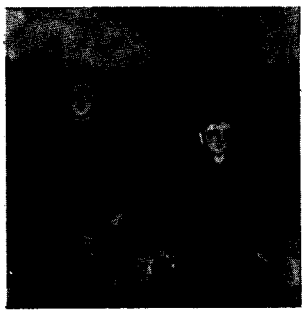

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Letters to the *Editor*

HOW THE OTHER HALF LIVES

"Temps Perdus," which appeared in your March/April issue, was infuriating and depressing. Again and again, we hear of the plight of adjuncts and of the fact that they cannot get decent jobs that make proper use of their long, expensive, and specialized educations. It is sad, indeed, and so is the plight of unemployed actors, unpublished novelists and poets, would-be professional ice skaters, and wannabe rock stars! But in the words of Jimmy Carter, life isn't fair. Moreover, nobody asked all of those adjuncts out there to earn Ph.D.'s. They made their own decisions and set their own goals. As they have learned, aspiration does not guarantee achievement. One cannot simply will jobs and careers into existence.

Walter J. Klein, Jr., *Brunswick, Maine*

The juxtaposition of Patricia Kean's feature on adjunct faculty ("Temps Perdus") and Adam Begley's story regarding the autobiographical muse at Duke ("The I's Have It") sums up the present state of the profession of English literary studies.

At the bottom we have underpaid, overworked, and exploited adjunct teachers who bear more and more of the burden of teaching undergraduates; meanwhile, at the top of the profession, we have well-paid, underworked professors who can (though admittedly most do not) spend their time writing whatever they damn well please.

I was especially struck by Jane Tompkins's situation; I respect Tompkins's work and scholarship, but find her position (or pose?) infuriating. It might well be personally rewarding to work in the kitchen of a health-food restaurant when you have the economic and professional security afforded by tenure, but I know a lot of people who are working in health-food stores, tending bar, or waiting tables not because they find it a particularly apt road to personal fulfillment but because they cannot find academic jobs, even with their Ph.D.'s in hand.

I would like to make a polite suggestion to all senior faculty who share Tompkins's "lament" regarding the "competition, hierarchy, busyness, and isolation" of academic life: RETIRE!

William J. Savage Jr., *Chicago, Illinois*

Patricia Kean's "Temps Perdus" addresses a real employment problem, but she's off the mark in insisting that full-time faculty are the enemy of adjunct teachers. Far from ignoring the issue, many full-time employees are quite upset by the way the academy treats adjuncts. This feeling stems partly from a "that might have been me" attitude, but also from a wish for friends who will be able to stick around. I don't think full-time faculty gain when their department lacks continuity, and neither do most of my full-time colleagues. We'd be happy to hire more tenure-track people — if we had the money, and that's where Kean should be directing her attack: at the administrators who claim "no can do" when we ask them to improve condi-

Continued on page 70

Letters to LINGUA FRANCA *should be typed double-spaced and be accompanied by the correspondent's name, address, and telephone number. Letters may be edited for clarity or length.*

THE BASIC ISSUE:

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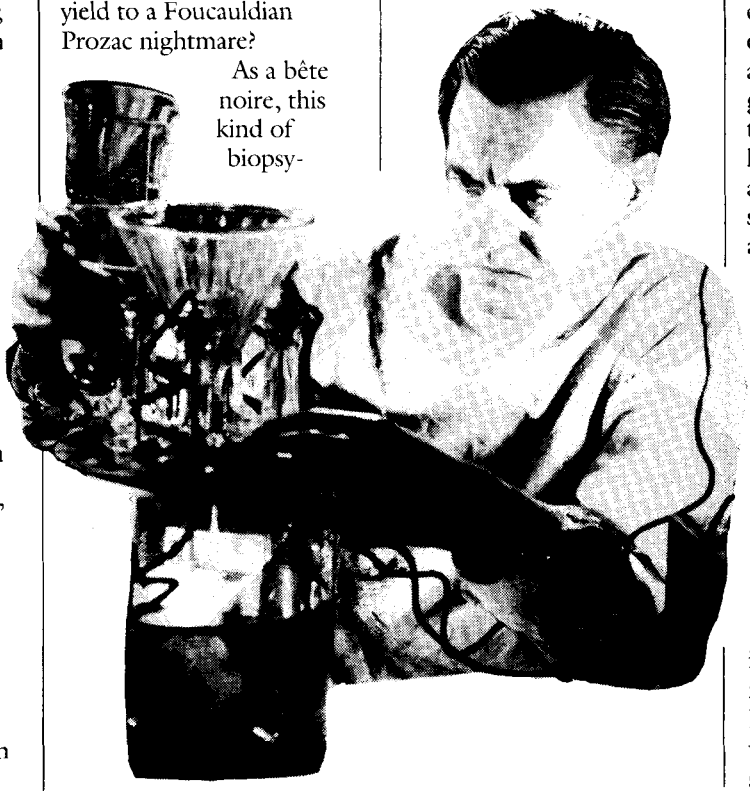
Field *Notes*

TAKE BACK THE NITROUS

NOAH POTTER, COLUMBIA junior, is worried because once again the men in charge are planning to flush American youth down the toilet. The men are not from the CIA this time, or the Pentagon either, but from the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) and its satellite psychiatric laboratories in the universities of this country. Racist scientists have already begun drugging inner-city kids with Ritalin and other psychotropic poisons, saying they're treating them for attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD); soon the NIMH will claim that violence is caused by genes and use that as an excuse to round up the remaining high-risk (read nonwhite) kids and sedate them into oblivion. "Presto!" concludes the poster that Potter has put up around Columbia to warn people about this (signed "thoughtcrimecabal"). "No violence in the future (in theory) and no more individual identity in the meantime. THIS IS REALLY HAPPENING."

Well, some of it is and some of it isn't. What is happening is a NIMH-funded study of ADHD treatments—psychosocial and pharmaceutical—in which 600 children under the age of ten will be given Ritalin or other standard hyperactivity medication. Also happening is ongoing government-funded research into biological causes and/or predictors of violent behavior, which has been criticized—some would say unjustly—as racist. Now the National Institutes of Health (NIH) have been forced on procedural grounds to restore funding to the controversial "Genetic Factors in Crime" conference they aborted two years ago in response to charges of racism—and if this incarnation is anything like the last, that means it's protest time. But will the discrete cries of social control cohere into a full-fledged student movement? Will the date-rape epidemic yield to a Foucauldian Prozac nightmare?

As a bête noire, this kind of biopsychiatry certainly has potential. Treating violence as a disease is something most people find either creepy or soft-on-crime, depending on their politics, and you don't have to be a card-carrying Foucauldian to be distressed by the thought of seven-year-olds being fed drugs by experimental psychiatrists. Moreover, ADHD is a problem disease, PR-wise—it's one of those psychiatric entities whose symptoms (inattention, impulsivity, and overactivity) sound to the layperson comically normal, which makes the idea of using medication to treat it seem all the more suspicious. And then, of course, there's always the danger that research on biological factors in crime—even nice, nonracist research—will undermine efforts to address environmental factors such as poverty, appalling schools, and drugs.



Student politics being the transient affair it is, the protest-life of the issue will depend largely on organizers from outside. There have been two main non-student players in recent anti-biopsychiatry uprisings: INCAR (the International Committee Against Racism) and Dr. Peter Breggin of Bethesda, Md. INCAR, a grass-roots anti-racism group with several thousand members (around 60 percent of whom are students), organizes campus teach-ins and demonstrations. Breggin, a bombastic but effective psychiatrist-gadfly who has been campaigning against psychotropic drugs since the 1970s, gives talks and distributes information packets.

So far, between them INCAR and Breggin have reached about fifteen campuses. If they do their jobs well, the movement will come to a boil around October of next year, when the genetics-and-crime conference takes place. Will students protest the event as they did last time? "Definitely," says Jennifer Guthman, president of the Howard psychology club, who invited Breggin to speak. "Definitely," says

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Noah Potter. "Definitely," says Renée Overton, a member of the Black Students Association at U. Connecticut, which helped bring INCAR to the campus.

One stumbling block that may stall the movement in its infancy is the fact that some of what Breggin and INCAR are saying doesn't quite jibe with the facts. Both, for example, are organizing around the concept of a "violence initiative"—supposedly a multiagency investigation into the genetic origins of violent behavior that is targeting minorities and which has the ultimate goal of developing scientific justifications for racist biochemical social control. In fact, the violence initiative was a proposal, floated by former Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis Sullivan several years ago, for research into the implications of treating violence as a public health problem. Sullivan quickly tabled the idea when it proved a PR no-no, and it died with the end of the Bush administration.

The genetics-and-crime conference, far from being a coven of latter-day phrenologists, is supposed to be a get-together for the philosophically minded to talk about the same moral issues that concern Breggin and INCAR. David Wasserman, the legal scholar at the University of Maryland's Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy who is organizing the event, now realizes that the old title—"Genetic Factors in Crime: Findings, Uses and Implications"—was perhaps not so wisely chosen. The new version is being developed under the wordier but less ambiguous rubric "The Meaning and Significance of Claims of Genetic Influence on Human Behavior."

Will the date-rape epidemic yield to a Foucauldian Prozac nightmare?

As for the claim that NIH-sponsored studies of hyperactivity and violence are racist—well, things just aren't that black and white. While it is true that genetic research into violence has a sordid history, and certainly true that such research has racist potential, at least one of the particular studies INCAR and Breggin single out for opprobrium seems pretty clean. Sixty to seventy percent of subjects in the ADHD study are white; and indeed, one of the purposes of the project was to extend ADHD research beyond the Caucasian, middle-class populations in which it is usually conducted.

But then again, what power has truth to stop a movement compared with Generation X's famous disillusion? The INCAR teach-in at Wisconsin bombed with undergraduates because it was held the day the Badgers played in the Rose Bowl. The Breggin talk at Columbia was attended mostly by nonstudents. "It's becoming more and more clear to my generation that we are living in a suburb of hell," says Potter during a phone interview, "but there doesn't seem to be anything to be done because all the attempts to organize turn out to be as corrupt as what is being organized against." But Potter, for one, realizes that this issue is too important to be

THE MAN WHO MISTOOK HIS WIFE FOR A CHAPEAU

MORE THAN ONE IRRITATED FRENCH PROFESSOR HAS NO DOUBT LONGED TO DISCOVER whether a student's pronunciation would be improved by a discreet but forceful blow to the side of the head. It is always a fleeting thought, of course, and one unlikely to find its way into the teacher's manual, but recent research suggests that the answer might be yes.

It seems that last year in New England, a middle-aged Worcester (*Wuh-stah*), Massachusetts, man walked away from a car accident speaking for the first time with a distinct French accent. The man, who told reporters that he had never studied a foreign language or been further east than New Jersey (*Noo Joysee*), had acquired a rare neurological problem called foreign accent syndrome. Although the syndrome has been noted in the scientific literature about two dozen times since 1907, last April one Dr. Majaz Moonis offered the first scientific explanation of the phenomenon. Presenting his findings to the American Academy of Neurology, Dr. Moonis traced the syndrome to a decreased flow of blood to the areas of the brain involved with motor control, an event that in turn affects the vocal cords and produces shifts in language. Oliver Sacks, take note.

As for the Worcester man, when he first worried out loud that his new accent might prevent him from making himself understood, Dr. Moonis assured him that "it sounds distinguished." Too true. Let the man just roll the words "critical theory" (*cree-tee-kul tay-o-ree*) trippingly off his tongue and he'll be a heavy hitter on the comp-lit water-cooler scene for years to come. —*R. J. Lambrose*

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delayed by activist navel-gazing. "Whatever their personal issues are," he says, "all organizers should be aware that psychiatry is planning to obliterate the next generation of potential organizers. Because now any kid who asks any questions or is dissatisfied with the state of affairs is going to be judged to have some kind of conduct disorder and sedated. When organizers my age turn thirty, they're going to look back at the generation behind them and see a glassy stare."

—Larissa MacFarquhar

GRADE EXPECTATIONS

REGULAR READERS OF GARRY TRUDEAU'S "DOONESBURY" comic strip have doubtless enjoyed the recent misadventures of Professor Deadman, who was sued by a student for "grade abuse" after Deadman "dissed" the student with a B+. Wacky Trudeauian dystopianism? Actually, we're guessing the strip was inspired by the true story of Eve Tenser, a student at Edinboro University in Pennsylvania who recently sued Edinboro and her instructor on the grounds that her failing grade violated a "contractual obligation" between her and the university. Then again, Trudeau may have heard about the Penn State student who last year also went to court over a failing grade. (In this case the complaint was brought against a fellow student, who had agreed to take an examination in exchange for a $1,200 stereo system. It seems the student-substitute accepted her high-fidelity consideration only to flunk the exam, leaving the aggrieved plaintiff to sue for compensation under the newly minted common-law doctrine of "Where's there's a shill, there's an A.")

Yes, things were looking bad for a while; but fortunately for you retro meritocrats out there, pesky grading lawsuits against professors should soon be a thing of the past, since the nation's largest textbook publisher, Harcourt Brace, now offers a lawyer-free alternative: "No Pass, No Pay" money-back guarantees. Students purchasing any of a list of sixteen different texts and "study guide kits" from Harcourt Brace College Publishers, Dryden Press, and Saunders College Publishing are promised a full refund as well as a 25 percent "publisher penalty" if they get an F in the course. Harcourt Brace touts the guarantees as a "no-nonsense corporate commitment to sharing risk": "For too long," the publisher explains, "the onus of failure has been disproportionately placed on the student and the instructor." Poor Professor Deadman, is all we can say. Who knew?

—R.J. Lambrose

A MORE PERFECT UNION

FINNISH TOURIST BOARD

FINLAND IS SUCH a *nice* place. Generous yet efficient social services; stripped pine furniture; saunas; record numbers of women in parliament . . . and while unemployment reaches 22 percent and breadlines form in the streets of Helsinki, the business that, improbably, continues to be profitable to the tune of $5.23 million a year is Helsingin Yliopiston Ylioppilaskunta—the Helsinki University student union. With total assets worth 1.5 billion Finnmarks (approximately $272 million), HYY is the richest student union in the West, if not in the world. (They know because they checked—they don't have as much money as the union at the University of Abu Dhabi.)

Most of HYY's money comes from rent—it sits on a choice block of commercial real estate which it bought for its headquarters in 1868, when it was still on the outskirts of Helsinki. Then there's considerable income from the union's travel division, Kilroy Travels, now Europe's largest youth travel agency. And then there are compulsory dues (students can't attend classes until they've paid), which bring in approximately $1.6 million each year from the union's 27,000 members.

In a country less virtuous, embezzlement would probably become a youth movement under these circumstances, but this is Finland, where white collar crime is a rarity. There appear to have been no financial scandals in HYY's entire history. And HYY uses its money *responsibly*. Profits from real estate and travel subsidize both HYY's catering division, which provides low-cost student food, and its publishing division, which produces student texts and trade books. Forty percent of the dues revenue is used to provide health care, and about half of HYY's $2.6 million annual budget supports smaller student organizations and clubs, such as Teologihomot, the gay theology students club.

Like most other organisms with lots of cash, HYY has nurtured ambitions of the diplomatic variety. In the 1980s HYY, like Finland, thought of itself as a major force in the Third World, and sent student goodwill ambassadors bearing Finnmarks and technical knowledge to deserving youth organizations. The union still funds a $20,000-a-year women's information project in north India and a

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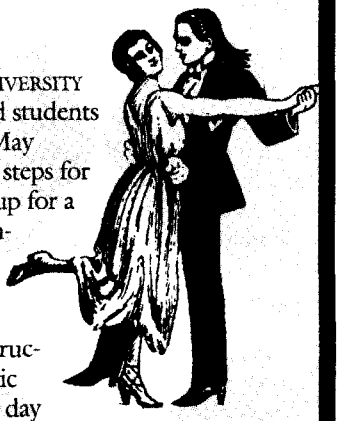
summer camp for international student leaders, but now it focuses primarily on local student issues.

There was a time when HYY was into the student power thing—in 1990 it organized a three-day takeover of the university's main administration building to protest the lack of student representation in

BRED ROLES

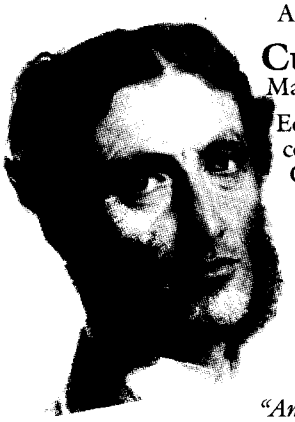


EARLIER THIS YEAR, TWO UNIVERSITY of California at Berkeley grad students who plan to tie the knot in May decided to learn a few dance steps for their wedding. They signed up for a class in the human biodynamics department (Berkeley's version of physical education). This romantic impulse might have charmed the instructor, Sunni Bloland, a romantic type herself who on the first day reminded her pupils that dancing was a form of courtship and requested that if a couple got engaged as a result of her class, they let her know. But alas, the already-engaged couple—Ruti Kadish and Nicole Berner—are lesbians, and things worked out rather differently. Bloland, not at all comfortable with the idea of two women dancing together, told them that if they wanted to stay in the class they could dance only with men, as followers. If one of them learned to lead, she explained, the other women might become jealous, and then what would she do? (At least that's how Kadish and Berner remember it; Bloland now denies having said anything of the sort.) Kadish and Berner took the case to Berkeley's Title IX office and lodged a gender-discrimination complaint, which was soon settled in their favor—sort of. The human biodynamics department agreed that gender would no longer determine whether a student led or followed—but, recognizing the alarming potential for unrestrained experimentation, it added a caveat: Each student had to pick a role at the beginning of the semester and stick to it. There would be no polymorphous perversity on Berkeley's dance floor.

Victory notwithstanding, after a couple of weeks Kadish and Berner dropped out of the class, since the fight had turned what was supposed to be fun into misery. And Bloland, who has taught dancing for thirty-one years, is trying to adjust to a changing world. "This is the man's part and this is the woman's part," she lamented to a reporter at the *Daily Californian*. "Now we are going to turn this world around." But *exactly*.

—David L. Kirp

NEW PAPERBOUNDS FROM YALE



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Field *Notes*

the Great Senate, among other things. But that didn't last. The administration capitulated almost immediately, and these days the two are allies in the fight to dramatize the school's economic plight to the government. On Valentine's Day HYY and the university jointly sponsored a "Day of Outrage," during which administrators and students together took to the streets and to the nearby Eduskunta (parliament house) with candle, song, and placard.

There was a time, too, before Finland's recession, when one could walk by HYY's crenellated headquarters on Mannerheimintie, Helsinki's main drag, and see parties taking place on each floor and student berserkers hanging from windows, bottles of vodka and *lakka* (cloudberry schnapps, a Finnish favorite) in hand. But these days conspicuous partying is not quite as cool as in those bygone bibulous years, except on such events as May Day, when union members, like most

❧

In a country less virtuous, embezzlement would probably become a youth movement.

❧

Helsinkians, get smashed celebrating the arrival of spring, and Carnival, the yearly bacchanal cum orientation session for incoming freshpersons. "It's an indescribable feeling to sit on the Student House balcony in the early hours of the morning after a successful event, sipping a little wine and looking at Helsinki from the heart of the city," reminisces Anja Kosonen, HYY's official spokesperson, who has been working for the union since 1991. "You feel there's something *out there* in the world—and that we are already contributing to it."

—Gordon F. Sander

REAL MEN DO WEAR TWEED

COMFORTS ARE FEW FOR PALE MALES IN THE ACADEMY these days, so those feeling especially implicated in cultural crimes will be glad to hear the following report from the Erik Menendez trial. Juror Hazel Thornton, a Pacific Bell telephone engineer, told reporters that sexual politics dominated the selection of a foreman: "The guys would never have voted for any of us," Thornton explained, so the women decided to vote for "the least offensive man"—a college professor. Ultimately, the jury deadlocked along gender lines, the six male jurors voting for first- or second-degree murder charges and the six women holding out for the lesser charge of manslaughter. Of course, the professor (a dean at Cal. State Northridge) still voted with the men. *—R. J. Lambrose*

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BREAKTHROUGH BOOKS OPERA

We asked six experts in opera to tell us about the most interesting books published in their field in the past few years. Here are their responses:

Jean-Jacques Nattiez, professor of musicology at the University of Montreal and author of *Wagner Androgyne: A Study in Interpretation* (Princeton, 1993).

The Angel's Cry: Beyond the Pleasure Principle in Opera by **Michel Poizat** (Cornell, 1992, trans. by Arthur Denner).

Poizat, a Lacanian analyst, "tries to give a psychoanalytic hypothesis as to why operagoers travel from town to town or opera house to opera house, braving six-hour queues in search of the divine voice of the diva," says Nattiez. "He argues that both through voice and through dramatic context, female characters present a double image—the angelic mother and the figure of death—so that what people are seeking in the voices of sopranos is the opportunity for unconscious contact with two opposing images of woman—eros and thanatos, according to Freud's famous dichotomy."

Rodney Milnes, editor of *Opera* magazine.

Verdi at the Golden Gate by **George Martin** (California, 1993).

"This is an excellent piece of social history about music and opera in San Francisco during the Gold Rush, and how a musically uneducated audience made an immediate connection to Verdi at a time when he was barely known in Europe," says Milnes. He calls the book "a work of great scholarship and enormous detail, full of maps of the city and its theaters. He shows how these probably not-very-good troupes of

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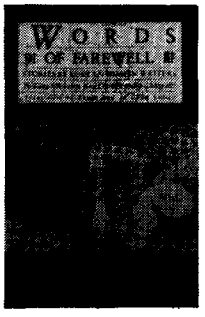

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Italian singers came up the coast after touring South America and gave concerts—first in beer halls, among the drunks and sawdust, and then in rickety theaters that burned down quite regularly. At first there would be the odd aria as part of a music-hall bill, but they proved so popular that soon whole operas were being staged, while in the back of these music halls people were being killed in brawls."

Philip Gossett, Dean of Humanities at the University of Chicago and general editor of *The Works of Giuseppe Verdi* (Chicago, ongoing):

Verdi: A Biography by **Mary Jane Matz** (Oxford, 1993).

"Verdi cultivated a public persona which made him out to be a kind of Horatio Alger hero, a boy from a poor family who willed himself to the pinnacle of international cultural life as the consummate composer and patriot," says Gossett. "He did a great deal to keep his private life hidden from view. By examining documentary evidence no one's ever looked at before—about Verdi, his family, and the social organization of life in Busseto—Matz, a writer for *Opera News,* gives us a sense of what was behind this persona (he was never poor, for example) and what went on behind the closed doors of his life (such as his relations with other musicians)."

Susan McClary, professor of musicology at McGill University, and author of *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minnesota, 1991) and *Georges Bizet: Carmen* (Cambridge, 1992).

The Queen's Throat by **Wayne Koestenbaum** (Poseidon, 1993).

"This is a long-overdue study of the genre from the point of view of its most avid fans: the gay men who call themselves opera queens. It examines the pleasures of listening to and identifying with high voices, the phenomenon of diva cults, and includes—my favorite part—'A Pocket Guide to Queer Moments in Opera.' Although Koestenbaum approaches his task with impeccable theoretical credentials, he writes beautifully. In the end, he chases opera not only out of the closet but also out of the seminar room."

Samuel Weber, professor of English at UCLA and author of *Mass Mediauras: Essays on Art and Technology* (forthcoming from The Power Institute, Sydney).

Musica Ficta (Figures of Wagner) by **Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe** (Stanford, 1994).

French philosopher Lacoue-Labarthe takes a "new approach to opera in light of Heidegger, Nietzsche, and Derrida," says Weber—he uses it to look at "the relationship between theater, tragedy, and music during the modern period," and to explore "problems that in traditional spoken discourse have become hard to articulate." For instance, Lacoue-Labarthe takes on the question of tragedy "by examining it syntactically—through the structure of the music—rather than through the more conventional notion of conflicting obligations with regard to an individual subject." Lacoue-Labarthe also studies "how art can be practised so as to avoid the dangerous political implications of a Wagnerian aestheticism."

Carolyn Abbate, professsor of music at Princeton and author of *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1991).

Singers of Italian Opera: The History of a Profession by **John Rosselli** (Cambridge, 1992).

"It's an absolutely fabulous cultural microhistory of the lives of different groups of Italian singers from the seventeenth to the twentieth century," says Abbate. Rosselli, an economic historian, eschews the "accounts of love affairs" that are the stuff of conventional singers' biographies to focus instead on the details of their daily lives: "What did they earn? What could they have bought with their earnings? Did castrati regret their enforced celibacy? How did singers find their managers?"

Opera Through Other Eyes, **David Levine, ed.** (Stanford, 1994).

The contributors to this anthology all come to opera from other fields, says Abbate: "Their background is largely literary, so they are drawn to opera's narrative and poetic elements, but also to the aura." German psychoanalytic theorist Klaus Theweleit traces the evolution of the instrument of Orpheus's resurrection in Monteverdi's *Orfee*—during the Renaissance, the instrument was a lyre; in one recent production, it was a television set. And Germanicist Friedrich Kittler, writing on Wagner's media technology, argues that "Wagner's treatment of live instrumentation anticipates the modern acoustics of electric amplification," Abbate says, "and that his revolutionary innovation of darkening the theater during a production anticipates the experience of viewing film."

—Ariel Kaminer

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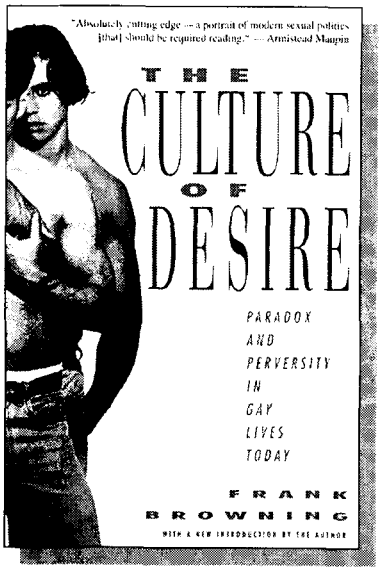
NEW IN PAPERBACK

THE CULTURE OF DESIRE

With a new Introduction by the author, Browning offers a narrative investigation into what it means to be a gay man in America in the 1990s, and poses the question of how a culture can create itself out of sexual desire. Exploring the worlds gay men have created—from Cuban couples in Miami and farmers in Kentucky, to AIDS activists, sexual theorists, and dedicated hedonists across North America—*The Culture of Desire* shows how homosexuality has evolved its own codes, styles, and values—and proclaimed them triumphantly even in the face of homophobia and AIDS.



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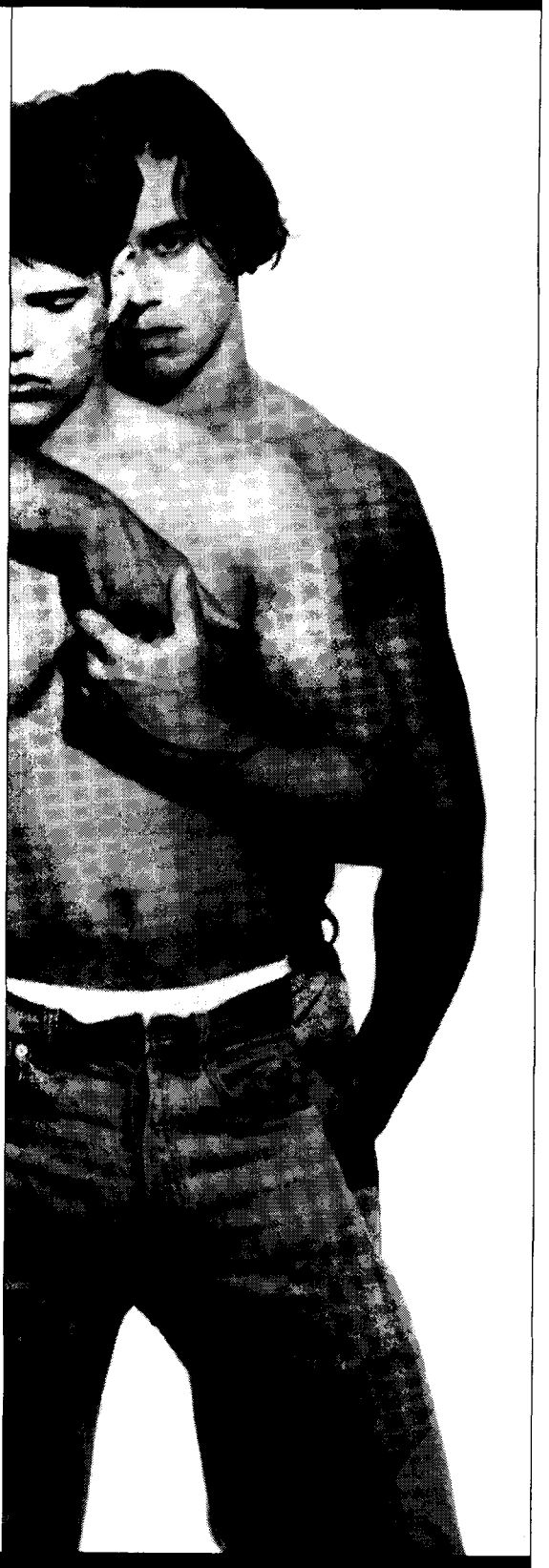

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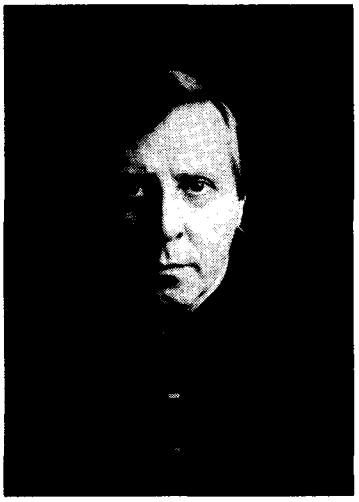
Inside *Publishing*

JACQUES DERRIDA, COME ON DOWN!

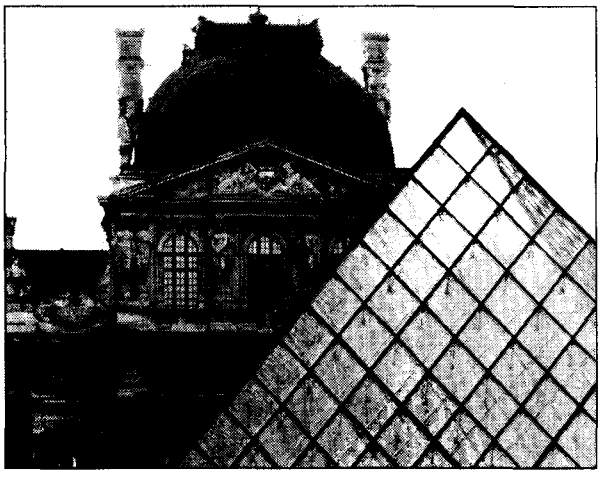
Do you remember *Supermarket Sweep,* the TV program that sent contestants tearing down store aisles, jamming their carts with goodies? The panjandrums at the Louvre must have loved it, because they have devised a series of exhibitions entitled "Parti Pris" ("Taking Sides"), in which the likes of Jacques Derrida and French literary critic Jean Starobinski are let loose in the museum to throw together their very own shows. (The anointed ones probably don't dash through the halls snatching masterpieces, but the spirit of the enterprise—the desirous eye unleashed—is the same.) The University of Chicago Press has begun to publish the catalogues of these exhibitions, starting with Derrida's; he organized his show in 1990 around images of blindness, vision, and representation and titled it "Memoirs of the Blind."



Peter Greenaway

Derrida's uncharacteristically accessible essay (perhaps he felt the need to be at least as clear as the illustrations) weaves in and around selected prints and drawings depicting blindness from classical and biblical narratives. Evidence that the images struck him deeply can be found in his confession of jealousy over his brother's artistic talent and in his account of his own last attempt to draw—the subject being his mother as she lay ill, "her eyes veiled by cataracts." The handsome book "sold beautifully," according to Karen Wilson, a senior editor at the press. Wilson is eager to publish the entire series to capitalize on the current critical vogue for visual culture and image-making. Another reason the "Parti Pris" series appeals to Chicago is that while the vision thing generally entails high production costs, the film for these particular reproductions is relatively cheap, since the press can use the Louvre's negatives rather than take its own photographs of the paintings.

Wilson is especially keen on the current catalogue, *Flying out of this World,* by film director Peter Greenaway. "He hardly ever writes for media other than films," she says, "so film historians are wild about this book." Given his disquieting, visually meticulous films, it comes as no surprise to learn that Greenaway was first trained as a painter. *Flying* includes paintings by Brueghel, Mantegna, Goya, and Delacroix, showing humans either trapped by gravity, ascending skyward, or plummeting earthward. Together they form a vertiginous narrative of the body's turbulent aspirations and dejections, and their lush extremism makes them seem like frames lifted from one of Greenaway's movies. His cool linguistic precision echos the sharp morbidity of his films. Of Victor Hugo's *The Hanged Man,* he writes: "With a hanged man, the body can be its own cause of death. How else can the body kill itself? . . . He is high above the ground, with powerless feet and no wings. Gravity has strung this creature up at the same time as it has laid this creature low."



Jean Starobinski will curate the next exhibition. Karen Wilson doesn't know who's up to play Louvre Museum Sweep after that, but along with the requisite number of French theorists—Philippe Ariès on death would be good—there should be some wild cards, like Orlan, the performance artist who's using plastic surgery to remake parts of her face to match those

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in several famous masterpieces, or maybe Christo, who could give us a galleryful of draped canvases. Send in your picks, or nominate yourself. Who knows? That could be you standing in front of the Mona Lisa with a shopping cart.

IF HE CAN'T DO THE TWIST TO IT, IT'S NOT HIS REVOLUTION

Everybody's heard of C.L.R. James, but until recently few people could turn vague acquaintance into actual knowledge. The Trinidadian-born historian, critic, and political philosopher wrote prescient analyses of colonialism and popular culture decades before those subjects were fashionable: His Marxist dissection of African-diaspora history foresaw postcolonial discourse, while his sharp readings of American pop culture prefigured both cultural studies and the American-studies movement. But when he died in 1989, most of his writing was either unpublished or out of print.

Before that, though, James's key works were well on their way to being brought out again. Anna Grimshaw, one of his former assistants and a lecturer in anthropology and film at the University of Manchester, edited *The C.L.R. James Reader,* an anthology published by Blackwells in 1992 that introduced James to a new generation of scholars. She then teamed up with Keith Hart, director of the African Studies Center at Cambridge University, to publish something called *Notes on American Civilization* that James wrote in 1949–1950. James gave Hart written permission to bring out the unpublished work, but after his death control passed to his literary executor, Robert A. Hill, a history professor at UCLA and editor in chief of the Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Papers—and Hill had his own ideas about how the manuscript should end up on bookshelves. The result was a pugnacious literary altercation and a book torn between opposing interpretations, with James-the-communist-cell-activist on one side (Hill's), James-the-Dwight-Macdonaldesque-cultural-critic on the other (Grimshaw and Hart's).

C.L.R. James

James turned out *Notes on American Civilization* in about five weeks; he was living in New York City at the time, enduring FBI investigations and fighting deportation proceedings (he had long since let his visa expire). A labor organizer and a fan of pop culture, he'd wanted to link the energy he'd witnessed on the factory floor to the vibrancy he found in the art of Rita Hayworth and Dashiell Hammett; he sat down to draft a prospectus and produced a manuscript that in book form runs to more than 250 pages. Then, in 1953, he was deported. He moved to England and more or less gave up on the text.

Is the manuscript a book or a very long proposal? That's one of the questions pitting Grimshaw and Hart against Hill. Hill insisted that the introduction refer to the text as a "prospectus," never as a "manuscript" or a "book"; that irked Hart and Grimshaw, who saw it as a finished work. Then there was a struggle over the title. The manuscript is plainly entitled *Notes on American Civilization*. Grimshaw and Hart claimed to have obtained James's verbal permission to use one of the text's flashier chapter titles, "The Struggle for Happiness." They argue that that name better captures the upbeat spirit of the exercise, particularly the portion in which James explores the implications of that uniquely American constitutional guarantee, the right to pursue happiness. Hill notes that "they had absolutely nothing in writing" from James to back up that claim and condemns what he calls the editors' "colossal arrogance."

The book Blackwells issued last fall—it was ultimately called *American Civilization*—has marks of the battle all over it. In 1991, the editors and Hill agreed through lawyers that Hill would have control over the book's format, including the right to add a brief foreword. In the book, though, the brief foreword has expanded into a seventy-

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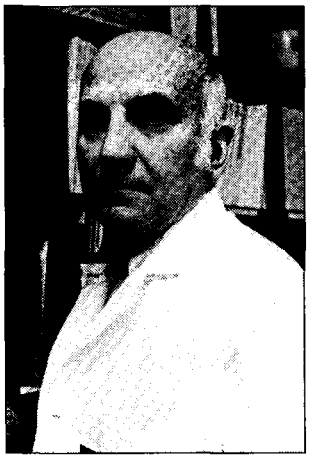
five-page afterword. Hill also appended part of a manifesto by James in which James seeks, as Hart puts it, "to revive a version of Lenin's legacy adapted to an American context." Hill's afterword squabbles with the editors' introduction in ways both subtle and not so subtle, while the appendix's first sentence blares, "To Bolshevize America it is necessary to Americanize Bolshevism." Hill included it in order to position James differently than the editors had: "He was a revolutionary Marxist, not a social democrat," Hill says. "They're recasting him as a social democrat and a cultural theorist because that's what intellectuals feel comfortable with. They do it to all revolutionaries. They did it to Fanon. They did it to Gramsci. Revolutionary Marxism makes them uncomfortable."

Hart, of course, disagrees. "The people in his Marxist faction [in America] saw his work on cultural theory as a threatening diversion from Marxist theory. We saw it as larger than the sect he was trying to embrace," he says. "We didn't introduce cultural studies into this—it's in the book."

DISCIPLINE IN BONDAGE

Alfred Kinsey

It's indoor work, presumably with no heavy lifting, so what could be tough about sex research? Vern L. Bullough, professor emeritus of history and sociology at SUNY Buffalo, has a pretty good idea. His new book, *Science in the Bedroom: A History of Sex Research* (BasicBooks), takes a look back at sexology's development from marriage manuals to its uneasy, provisional berth in today's university. Sex research has long had a somewhat shady reputation, conjuring up images of scientists in lab coats taking notes at orgies. Pioneers like biologist Alfred Kinsey had to contend with the belief that much sexual activity itself was sinful and that researching it was hardly any better; perhaps, because it compounded one sin with another—voyeurism—it was worse. Teaching an interdepartmental marriage course at Indiana University in the late 1930s, Kinsey was attacked by another faculty member for his perversion of academic standards. The professor was a bacteriologist who gave sex lectures to separate male and female hygiene classes; he accused Kinsey of things like asking female students about the length of their clitorises (Bullough doesn't say whether the charge was true). Kinsey ended up abandoning his class and devoting himself completely to research. When William Masters (of Masters and Johnson) was finishing up his medical training and expressed the wish to make the study of human sexuality his life's work, one of his advisers told him not to start out with sex but to "establish a scientific reputation in some other field first." Only after Masters did that, and was married with a family, could he begin his research without fear of damaging his professional reputation.



William Masters

Photos by The Bettmann Archive

Bullough himself recalls receiving similar warnings; he became involved in sex research "gingerly," after he got tenure. And even then, his investigations of prostitution attracted attention from the FBI. (After agents visited a college where he was applying for a job, he was turned down for the post.) In the Seventies, Bullough obtained his nearly hundred-page FBI file under the Freedom of Information Act and discovered that he'd been branded a "security risk" and that once, when he traveled abroad on a Fulbright, the FBI had informed overseas agencies that he was a dangerous subversive.

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Outsiders and eccentrics, the first sex researchers often undertook their work in order to make sense of their own sexual identities. Bullough provides thumbnail sketches of scientists like German obstetrician Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935), a homosexual whose extensive research in same-sex attraction was spurred by the suicide of one of his patients, a gay military officer who shot himself on the eve of his marriage. (Because sexology was classified as a "Jewish science" by the Nazis, much of Hirschfeld's library and extensive collection of data was burned by the Brownshirts in 1933.) Marie Stopes, one of the first advocates of birth control in England—and the first woman to join the faculty of the University of Manchester—was a lecturer in paleobotany who became interested in sexuality after the failure of her 1911 marriage, which was annulled on the basis of nonconsummation.

Even now, Bullough points out, sexology remains far from the academic mainstream; no major U.S. university or college has a graduate program in sexology aimed at those seeking to be sex researchers or therapists. "The greatest problem, caused by the lack of an institutional base for sex research," he writes, "is that the individual researcher is on his or her own, and without easy access to interdisciplinary and interprofessional cooperation." Sex study may be indoor work, but—even as Phil and Oprah pry the lids off the last taboos—it can be hard to find somewhere indoors to do it.

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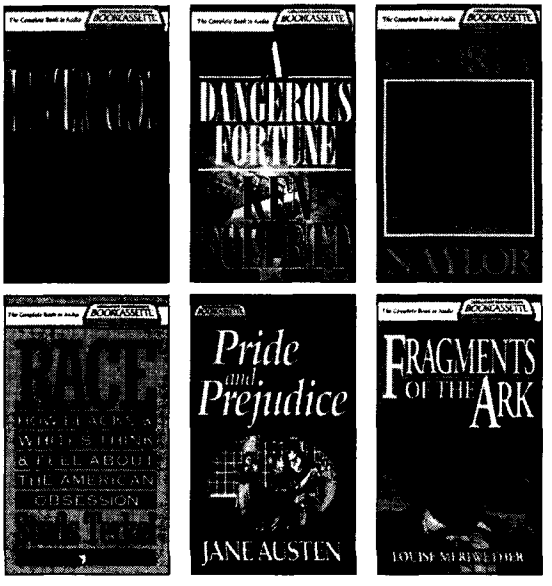
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Inside *Publishing*

AUTO EROTICISM

Post calls drag racing "peculiarly American, because it puts power over everything."

Robert C. Post, a historian of technology at the Smithsonian Institution and editor in chief of the journal *Technology and Culture*, sees in the sport of drag racing a rare clarity of purpose: to get from point A to point B as fast as possible. Unlike drivers in the Indianapolis 500 or the Le Mans races, who roar endlessly around huge tracks or through small French towns, drag racers simply launch themselves down a quarter-mile sliver of asphalt. No pacing, no comebacks, no finesse—just speed and a finish line.

In *High Performance: The Culture and Technology of Drag Racing 1950–1990,* published in May by Johns Hopkins University Press, Post—a former drag racer himself and a native of the cradle of car culture, southern California—charts how a generation of mechanics, designers, and drivers has pitched itself against that unforgiving equation: In the 1950s, cars took as many as thirteen seconds to zoom down the track; now they take five. A number of safety devices now in wide use were first dreamed up by drag racers. The book charts the impact of this progress on the nation's automotive technology and describes how a bunch of overage garage hounds went from dodging cops on empty roads to becoming cult heroes, with corporate sponsorship to boot.

The appeal of the sport "has something to do with its fans, and even the racers, feeling like outsiders," says Post—a result, perhaps, of the sport's illegal origins, the stereotyping of racers as "grease monkeys," and the fact that *The New York Times* won't write about it ("They think drag racing is like monster trucks," says Post).

Fiction, Crime, and Empire
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Jon Thompson

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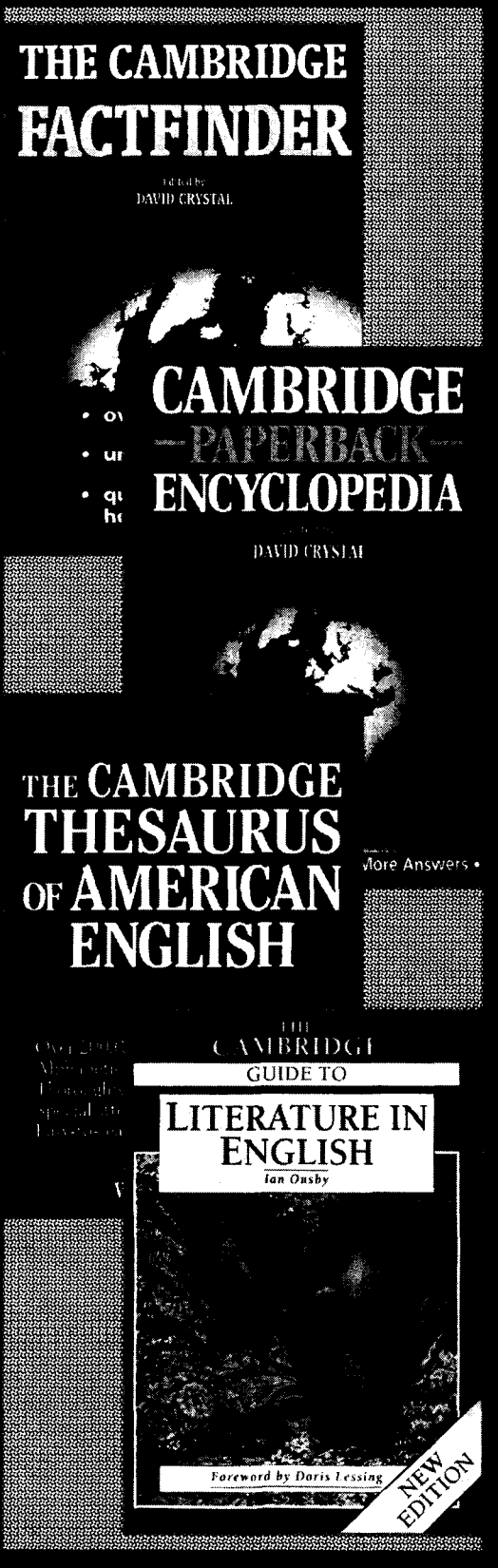

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Inside *Publishing*

High Performance takes that outsider status to heart. Its sexy photos of engine parts, its hard-core mechanical information, and its racing-stripe endpaper all make the book seem distinctly unscholarly, as does Post's refusal to address in what he calls Frankfurt School terms the achingly obvious political and sexual content of a sport he describes as "peculiarly American, because it puts power over everything." "One referee thought the book 'fell between the stools' because it wasn't either all theory or all nuts and bolts," says Post.

But Johns Hopkins University Press thinks it can seize the attention of another audience. "We *want* the race heads and car buffs," says Douglas Armato, the press's marketing director. So Hopkins is planning to launch a direct-mail campaign to target the 75,000 members of the National Hot Rod Association, along with the 8,500 fans on the list of the Museum of Drag Racing in Ocala, Florida. (It's a lesson Hopkins learned from another title, *The American Railroad Passenger Car,* published in 1978 and sold successfully to what Armato calls "the fanatic market.") Not only did Hopkins get "Big Daddy" Don Garlits, drag racing's best-known champion, to blurb *High Performance* and to agree to promote it on his Nashville-based television program, but refrigerator magnets in the shape of gas pumps are already in the works. Hopkins plans to sell the book in drag-strip souvenir booths, "side by side," says Armato, "with the jackets, caps, and scale-car models."

—*Albert Mobilio*

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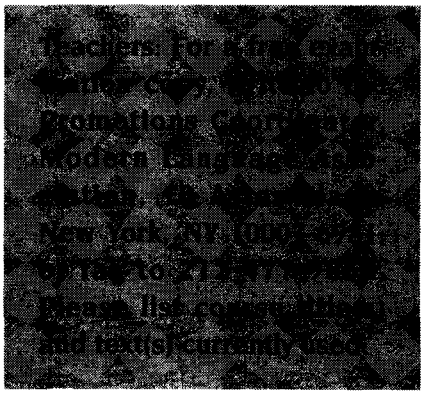

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FLY ME TO THE

BY DAVID BENNAHUM

Continued from the cover

MOOs, like e-mail, work through computers linked by phone lines, but unlike e-mail they allow users to have real-time, multiparty conversations rather than just leave messages for each other. Logging on to a MOO is like walking into a virtual room in which you find a number of objects (a description of the space is written into the program) and other people, sometimes hundreds of them, who are sitting at their terminals, logged on to that MOO, at that moment.

The first MUDs were built around 1978. At the time there was a popular text-based adventure game called, appropriately, Adventure, which ran on a university computer. At first, players played alone, against the machine, going from room to room collecting treasure, killing monsters, until they eventually won the game. After a while it got boring. Computers are predictable. So a few programmers decided to network several games and let people play together, simultaneously. Then, something unexpected happened. People no longer played to win the game; they played to be with other people. A virtual community began to form.

There are now more than 400 of these MUDs and their descendants running on the Internet. MOOs are significant because their creation allowed users to build their own rooms and write their own programs within the virtual world. MUDs were fixed places, most definitely games; MOOs took control from the head programmer and distributed it to every user. The point was not to play a game but to build a social space in a permanent state of evolution.

I get fidgety waiting for velo and his class and decide to explore Mushville. I head north, up the street. I pass by a church, a pizza parlor, a school. Up ahead is a lighthouse and the beach. The beach is the end of this part of Mushville. It doesn't have to be—Mushville could go on forever—but over the years, virtual architects have learned to use boundaries. People like them. It keeps the space intimate, real.

Trying to go farther north than the beach dumps you in the ocean:

```
You find yourself swimming in the
restless ocean, the waves moving you
effortlessly, the sun warm overhead.
The ocean moves in a long, soft wave
of sound, a great rushing, like wind
through a thousand trees in a long,
calming rush.
```

Going any farther is impossible. I swim back to shore and stare out to sea.

```
You find yourself captivated by the
view and feel as though you were able
to join the seagulls in flight. You
are reminded of your earthly ties by
the lapping of the waves and the
fishing boats bobbing upon the ocean
waves.
```

As I look out at the fishing boats bobbing on the waves, `Teldorn pages: Hi there.` I go back to the town square, hoping Teldorn (one of velo's students) will be there—I want to know where the class is. Teldorn must have checked to see who was logged on and found me. Teldorn and I bump into each other in the town square. He offers to take me to class, telling me that the students are at last arriving. As he speaks, a steady stream of characters hurry past us: Bruno, niki, Smurf, kurt, Ronda. It is a virtual stampede. They are headed to school. The school is a block north, sharing an intersection with the church and the pizza parlor.

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ADVENTURES IN TEXTUAL REALITY

MOO

```
You go up the stairs and into the
school.
Schoolhouse Hallway
A short hallway, leading to rooms
where you can almost smell the learn-
ing taking place. The floors are par-
quetry, the varying shades of wood
making a starburst design. A small
crystal chandelier hangs overhead,
and on the wall ahead of you is a
portrait of some man who obviously
gave a lot of money to the school.
Probably donated this house, too.
```

I type, `go class`

```
You open the doors and head into
class.
WriteMUSH Classroom
A roomy classroom, with a large
whiteboard in the front, soft red
carpet on the floor, and lots of
sturdy wooden tables and extremely
comfortable chairs.
Contents:
Teldorn
kurt
niki
Bruno
kid
Smurf
lectern
```

I find myself surrounded by students busy transforming themselves from character to character, poking at each other, and asking me what I am doing here. I tell them I was invited by velo to sit in. By the time velo arrives, I have gathered that he wants them to write an argumentative essay. He divides us into small groups and sends us off into different rooms to discuss it.

I find myself with Jasmine, crista, and tanis the elf. Jasmine is studying business administration, crista is preparing to be a paralegal, and I can't figure out what tanis wants to do. He may be a netsurfer who has come to crash the party. I type, `look at Jasmine`, and I read this description:

```
Jasmine is looking very smart today.
She is wearing a white silk blouse
and button fly Guess jeans. Her hair
is pulled back, showing off her
emerald earrings. She returns your
look with a friendly smile.
```

I check crista's prose:

```
red hair, light tan, wearing blue
jeans, western boots, and a western
shirt.
```

Telegraphic; reminds me of the personals. I wonder if these are cross-dressers. I ignore the elf. I ask them what their essays are on. Jasmine is very talkative. Her title is "Not All Pit Bulls Are Vicious Animals." I agree. Crista won't answer the question, so I ask her again. Finally she says,

```
I really can't think of what I
could write about. I'm not one to put
up an argument on anything.
```

I try a different approach: `Crista, can you think of anything you disagree with?` For the next few minutes she is very quiet. Jasmine and I discuss why she likes using MOOs as part of her education. Then crista drops a whopper in my lap:

```
crista says "I really don't like
mixed marriages, but that would
offend my sister. I'm not against
blacks, I have made lots of friends
that are black, and I like them."
```

I wonder why crista told me this. It's not the kind of comment one makes in casual conversation with strangers. I ask what it is about MOOspace that leads people to be so direct.

```
Jasmine says "well it is a time to
be alone and yet be with others you
can let down your guard and share
```


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FLY ME TO THE MOO

things, or act in ways
you wouldn't normally do."
Tanis the elf smiles.
The elf metamorphs into a Dragon.
Jasmine says "Another thing i think
it helps with self esteem. Sometimes
I have a hard time opening up to
people or trusting others, and this
lets me learn to communicate in a
way that wont offend me if someone
laughs, I can always leave them
behind and talk to someone else.The
social pressure is not here as much
as in real life."
crista says "It is easier to be honest
about what you think or how you feel.
I would never say I don't like mixed
marriages to someone in person."
The dragon says "You see people are
more sef-assertive here."
Jasmine says "Who will judge you
here? Nobody."

When I started researching this article I had no experience with MOOs or MUDs or M-anythings, but I understood what it was like to be totally absorbed in a text-based reality. As a kid in the early 1980s I used to play a variation of Adventure called Zork on my Atari computer. This led to Zork II and III and a steady stream of convoluted fantasy games with names like Deadline and Planetfall. I became obsessed with them, spending months at a time solving puzzles, trying to get to the end. I'd pick up another game and keep going. I'd swap tips with friends. It was a way of life for a while, a sort of living science-fiction fantasy. I abandoned it when puberty diverted my interests elsewhere, and not until last December did I come back to that world: That's when I opened an Internet account from my home in Manhattan ($20 a month) and canceled cable television to pay for it. Ignoring all other Internet distractions, like newsgroups and e-mail, I headed for the closest MUD, a place called Thunderdome. This is a classic hack-and-slash game, except unlike in Zork, Planetfall, and all the rest, *there were other people all around me.*

It was a strange sensation. I felt very happy. I canceled my appointments. I had people to meet, places to go. But a day later I experienced something unexpected, the last thing I ever thought I would feel in something as cool as a MUD: boredom. I kept accosting players named Ranger, Black_Knight, and Black_Magik, asking them where they were from. Answers like "the castle" and "Lórien" (a forest in the Tolkien books) just wouldn't do. I kept prodding, accusing them of taking this all too seriously. After all, isn't this a *game*? I didn't want to talk about slaying trolls. I got yelled at (as much as one can yell with text). I was shunned. I ruined the party. I was back-stabbed by a thief. My character, named Bored, was assassinated.

Then a few days later I telephoned Jennifer Grace, a cultural-anthropology graduate student at Duke University who studies virtual communities. Jennifer does not spend much time on MUDs—she does all her research on MOOs. She warned me that this kind of research quickly bleeds into your real life, taking it over. Everything in a MOO begs to be catalogued by an anthropologist, because people in MOOs come there to be with other people. They do not decapitate elves—they socialize. They lie. They become painfully earnest. Since I'm a former practitioner of anarchic improv comedy, for me the lies became theater. In a MOO, the lying is role-playing, turning MOOs into wild metaphorical playpens where subtext becomes preposterously magnified and released. They are a strange surrealist hybrid of the sweetness of self-help and the raging braggadocio of hacker subculture.

When I spoke with Jennifer the first time, our conversation was very serious—no jokes allowed. Jennifer didn't seem like the kind of person you'd want to get drunk with in a bar. That is, until I did, at least virtually speaking, when she invited me to join her at Club Dred on LambdaMOO. Lambda was the first MOO. Lambda is the biggest MOO. LambdaMOO is a wonderful dance to witness.

To enter Lambda is to visit the hive of the reigning MOO Queen. Like some giant, overstuffed termite mom, Lambda is fed and fattened by a small horde of slave workers. In return, Lambda's parent, Xerox, gives anyone who wants it free access to the MOO software—a policy that has bred the MOO infestation that now riddles the Internet. Xerox is studying the future of networked virtual realities, a technology that didn't exist four years ago, by giving the software away and letting overeducated hackers improve on it. The slave workers are computer types of various kinds—students, postdocs, Xerox PARC employees—who voluntarily manage the 8,000 or so permanent characters on Lambda and vainly try to track new additions to the 5,000-plus "rooms" that make up the hive. The slaves are called wizards—a term left over from hack-and-slash days.

These wizard/slaves wield a magic wand: the programmer's bit. Ownership of a programmer's bit allows a wizard (or even a puny Lambda-mite, if she is given one) to program new kinds of objects into LambdaMOO. People with bits are cool. People who give out bits are even cooler. To add to the insanity of the mix, the father of the Queen, Pavel Curtis (a.k.a. Lambda and Haakon), Xerox employee extraordinaire and creator of the MOO software, permitted Lambda to become a democracy. Now even newcomers like me can vote on various propositions, like *Ballot:mpg (#75104): 'Minimal Population Growth' (I voted no on

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that one—I want the population to explode). The irony of this is ignored. This is not a democracy. LambdaMOO sits on a hard drive in the belly of the Xerox Corporation. A little tug and the plug comes out.

To log on to Lambda, I type, `telnet lambda.parc.xerox.com 8888` into my Internet account. All that means "Get me over to Lambda, now."

```
PLEASE NOTE:
  LambdaMOO is a new kind of society,
where thousands of people voluntarily
come together from all over the
world. What these people say or do
may not always be to your liking; as
when visiting any international city,
it is wise to be careful who you
associate with and what you say. The
operators of LambdaMOO have provided
the materials for the buildings of
this community, but are not responsi-
ble for what is said or done in them.
In particular, you must assume
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or others to access LambdaMOO through
your facilities. The statements and
viewpoints expressed here are not
necessarily those of the wizards,
Pavel Curtis, or the
Xerox Corporation and those parties
disclaim any responsibility for them.
```

I type, `connect solomon joviso`, and I get this annoying message:

```
*** The MOO is too busy! The cur-
rent lag is 14; there are 182 con-
nected. WAIT AT LEAST 5 MINUTES
BEFORE TRYING TO CONNECT AGAIN! ***
```

Five minutes. Forget it. I speed-dial, immediately cycling through ten attempts. Finally the lag dips below five—the magic pressure level—and I'm in. The `connect solomon joviso` tells the Lambda computer to let me in as Solomon (my Lambda character); "joviso" is my password (not anymore, for you hackers out there). That little word "lag" is the bane of the virtual universe. It is an omnipresent subject of conversation. As the termites multiply, the hive they crawl in—disk space and processing time—gets crowded. The Xerox computer tries to serve everyone, stacking us into a huge queue; the time between an entry request and the computer's completing it is the lag. Sometimes it goes up to 40 seconds. That's when it's time to go to one of the other 400 M-whatevers out there.

I tumble into Lambda and straight into a coat closet.

```
The lag is approximately 3 seconds;
there are 178 connected.
*** Connected ***
The Coat Closet
The closet is a dark, cramped space.
It appears to be very crowded in
here; you keep bumping into what
feels like coats, boots, and other
people (apparently sleeping). One
useful thing that you've discovered
in your bumbling about is a metal
doorknob set at waist level into
what might be a door.
```

It's a good thing the closet is dark. Those other people (apparently sleeping) are the 7,922 souls not currently logged on. The closet is where Lambda stores virtual corpses. With the lights on, you'd have to sit through a long list of sleeping names scrolling down your screen. That would really make the lag bad. Some cool MOOers build their own, personalized rooms, and when they log on to Lambda they appear in them. It's eerie to walk into someone's room and find him there sleeping. Unfortunately, LambdaMOO prevents you from wreaking any mayhem on the sleeper, but you can build objects and leave them behind, like love notes and flowers.

First-time users connect as guests by typing `connect guest guest`, where "guest" serves as both name and password. Since the name "guest" is usually already taken, you wind up with some modification of it, such as Blue_Guest. Making your own character is easy. I type, `@request Solomon for davidsol@panix.com.` A few hours later LambdaMOO e-mails me confirmation that no one else has the name Solomon, and gives me a password. Now I'm Solomon. The @ sign means that what follows is a computer command. I am essentially programming. To be a name without a description is unacceptable. When people type `look at Solomon` they want to see what I look like. Associating a description with my name is equally simple: I just type, `@describe me as . . .` and then whatever I want my description to be. If you were to look at me, you would see:

```
Solomon is a little stressed out from
being indoors too much, but happy to be
here. Wearing a jacket, shirt, and
jeans with heavy brown shoes. Tall with
disheveled black hair. He is awake and
looks alert.
```

The final product requires gender—male, female, or neuter (I met a giant carrot the other day; it was neuter). To give myself my gender I type, `@gender male.` That's it. That made me Solomon. More advanced players create a set of names and descriptions, each very different. Cycling

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FLY ME TO THE MOO

At Grump's request, the housekeeper sneaks in, deposits plate of cookies, and leaves.

through them is called morphing.

Now, after a few weeks on the MOO scene I am not only Solomon—I am Pepe, chia_pet, and my_little_pony. But Solomon is my parent character, my first MOO self. The other characters come in handy, depending on the situation. Pepe is a six-foot-tall, oversexed French skunk, chia_pet is a quiet 400-pound plant, and my_little_pony is a very sweet, sincere, two-inch-high pink plastic toy.

Typing `open door` will get you out of the closet and into the living room. The people in the living room will see on their screens the words `Solomon comes out of the closet (sort of).` The living room is the heart of Lambda. The original space was designed to look like a California house, the kind a successful Palo Alto Xerox employee might have. It has a pool, a hot tub, a kitchen, a dining room, and lots of bedrooms. Things have changed since then. Under the pool there is now a warren of caves filled with a couple of headless elves and hack-and-slash knights, but don't tell the neighbors. Stare too closely at the postcard of Paris on the fridge and you'll find yourself tumbling into it . . . and out onto the Boulevard St. Germain. Outside, past the garden by the pool, is a path leading into deep South American jungle. Flights to Brazil leave from there. As long as there is disk space, there can be rooms. Build a room, convince a wizard it's good, and he (rarely she) will link it up to the rest of the MOO for you. There are a lot of half-finished rooms sitting in limbo in Lambda's memory, waiting to be connected—only they never will be. They are abandoned.

As a character you can do three basic things. First, you can speak, by typing `"Hello.` The computer takes the double quote mark as an instruction to print what follows it as speech, so that other people in the MOO room see `Solomon says "Hello."` Second, you can emote. Emoting allows you to take on a narrative voice and show emotions, actions, thoughts. If I type, `emote yawns loudly, what you are saying is tedious,` the computer prints out, `Solomon yawns loudly, he thinks what you are saying is tedious.` Third, you can build—anything from rooms to virtual accessories.

Building rooms is easy. It's the same as making a character, except here the name is associated with a "space" (on the Internet, space is a rather abstract concept). Once the space has a name, associate a description with it and you have a room. You can then create objects to place inside the room, like newspapers, cookies, chairs—anything you can think of. You can also program a set of verbs to go with each object. I was in the kitchen speaking with Freya and du_Nord when Grump, a person in another room, commanded the housekeeper to deliver a plate of cookies:

I type, `eat cookies`
`You eat one of the cookies on the plate.`
`The taste of choc-chip cookie fills your mouth.`

The verb "eat" was associated with the object "cookie." Typing `eat cookies` (I wanted all of them) prompted the computer to describe me eating one. I could also have typed `take cookies` and then `give cookie to du_Nord.` In each case the computer would have understood what I wanted to do, because the creator of the room programmed it to respond to the verbs "eat," "take," and "give," among others. The housekeeper in this case was not a real character but a robot programmed by the room's creator to perform certain actions. Between the rooms, the robots, the objects, and the characters, you have a complete text-based virtual reality that evolves over time, creating history and a virtual community.

MOOspace exists only as text flowing down your computer screen. Sometimes I spend eight hours at a time staring at the moving words, typing back at the people typing at me. My mind has accepted that this is real. As Jennifer warned, the "research" took over my life—for a few weeks I logged on every day. It also brought me closer to Jennifer. The nerd on the phone became an alluring woman named amazin (as in amazin Grace) in Lambda. Ours became my first MOO friendship. Now I spend several nights a week with her. She has become a confidante. That's the strange thing about MOOs—they pop up like trapdoors in your life and connect you to people you would otherwise have nothing to do with. All the context that separates two people like Jennifer and me disappears, leaving an illusion of intimacy: an intimacy devoid of life's accessories, the baggage that we carry around with us. Some MOO friends try to take a relationship out of virtual space, but veteran MOOers are wary—they've been burned too often by net friendships that collapsed once the stuff of real life came in.

I was sitting in the Lambda living room when I received a page from amazin. Paging is a way of speaking to people not in the same room with you; it's also a way to keep messages private. I found her in Club Dred.

`amazin pages, "type @join amazin"`

I type, `page amazin with "okay"`
`amazin hears you and smiles sublimely.`

I type, `@join amazin`
`You visit amazin.`
`A bouncer comes up to you and says,`

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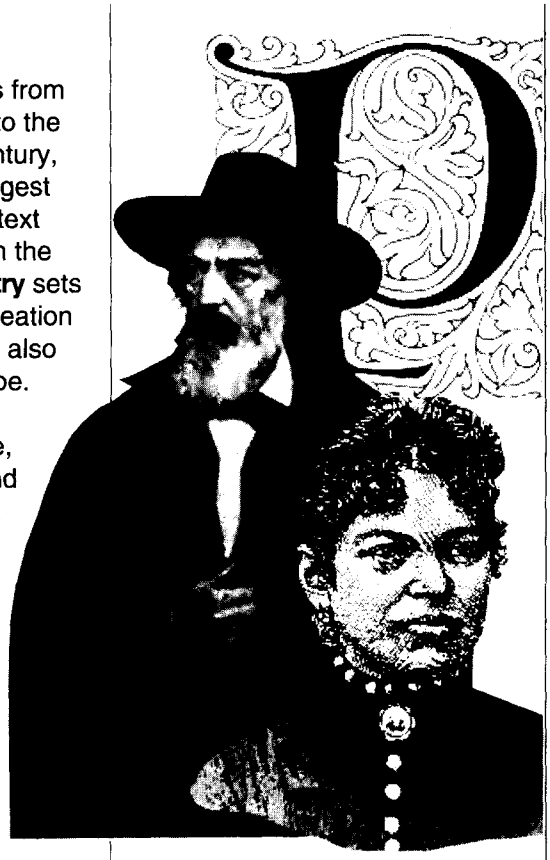

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FLY ME TO THE MOO

"Hey! Think you can
crash the Club without paying, eh?
Don't think so! Try using the door."

This is the corner of Main Street
and Queens Boulevard...To the north-
west you can see a large castlelike
building with a large neon sign
reading: "Club Dred." A long line of
people wait to get in.
(from Club Dred) amazin hugs you
   This nightclub appears to be the
new in-spot. Like all nightclubs, it
is dimly lit, and very loud. Music
and noise from all the conversation
around is frankly deafening. But one
might manage to find a more quiet
corner to gather and talk, if one
can find a way through the crowd!
You see Gothic Dave, sign, and Abi-
gail here.
amazin and Dred are here.
Dred says, "amazin!"
Princess_Buttercup pays the cover
and enters the club.
The DJ makes a smooth transition
from AC/DC into a song by The Lemon-
heads.
amazin hugs Dred warmly.
amazin [to Dred]: hiya, cutie.
Princess_Buttercup says, "The Lymone
heads!!"
Some guy jumps up on a table and
drops his pants, mooning the entire
club. But he jumps down and disap-
pears before the bouncers can find
him.
amazin hugs you.
Princess_Buttercup says, "I mean
Lemonheads."

This is the kind of detail that keeps people coming back. That and the robots—like the bouncer and Abigail, the waitress—that seem human. Typing `order milk from Abigail` will get you just that, a glass of milk. And that glass can be passed around, chugged, sipped, thrown.

In this world, writing defines your position in the social hierarchy. Good writers, intelligent writers, get lots of attention. Your sex appeal depends on your prose. I look at amazin.

amazin is a 5'4" buxom blonde with
grey-blue eyes and a soft
pageboy haircut.
Silver earrings drop deli-
cately from her earlobes and
tinkle when she walks, and the
faint scent of orchid perfume trails
behind her. Don't be fooled by her
appearance though. She can be alter-
nately overbearingly esoteric or
downright bawdy, depending on her
mood. She carries Michel Foucault's
"History of Sexuality, Part 1" tucked
under her arm and she takes to read-
ing it when she is bored. amazin is
wearing a mood ring with a lovely
umber-colored stone (signifying you
have grown tiresome).
She is wearing an elegant red dress
which barely hides the black orchid
tattoo on her left shoulder blade.
Sheer black stockings cover her
shapely legs, and she is wearing
elegant low-heeled black pumps on
her petite feet.

Jennifer has told me she is short and heavy IRL (in real life). That phrase, "IRL," comes up a lot, to separate what happens in MOOspace from out there. I don't believe there is actually a difference between real life and MOOspace—especially when you spend most of your waking hours in a MOO. Then again, I am a novice. I haven't been burned yet.

Some people cling to this IRL distinction not because they've been burned but because they prefer not to acknowledge the humanity of the person behind a character. That way the whole experience remains separate, compartmentalized, dehumanized. MOOers like that can be abusive—groping you, hitting you, making fun of you. For some reason MOOs bring out that kind of behavior in many people. Because of that, many MOO users cloak their gender and race. I've noticed that a lot of guests are women—they come on as guests to be left alone, keeping their gender hidden. Others cross-dress, claiming they are male when they are female IRL. But more often than not it is the IRL males that come on as females. I still don't understand what it is that excites men about coming on as absurdly oversexed Jessica Rabbit female clichés. One MOO pastime is "outing" cross-dressers. Their prose often gives them away, as in the case of the "homosexual woman" I met in a hot tub at LambdaMOO. Everyone in the tub with us picked up on her description, screaming, "A lesbian would not call herself a homosexual woman." She turned out to be a teenage boy.

Social MOOs like Lambda outnumber all other kinds. Their growth has been so rapid that some colleges (Amherst, for one) have outlawed MOOing from their

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computers. At one point Australia banned MOOing altogether—the MOO load on its few long-distance trunk lines was so heavy that "legitimate" activities, such as currency trading, had slowed to a crawl. The range of social MOOs is endless; some are completely unrelated to anything in real life. The FurryMuck is a MOO where half-human, half-animal creatures come together and have netsex—usually a process of rapid one-handed typing. BayMOO is a squeaky-clean Bay Area MOO where `emote lights a cigarette and takes a long drag` gets you in big trouble. Dhalgren MOO is postapocalypse New York City, where dogs run wild and street hustlers try to make you part with whatever virtual currency you may be carrying. And then there are the professional MOOs, the ones intended for teaching and research. These are struggling to become more than curiosities; they want to be useful.

MediaMOO and BioMOO, for instance, are serious MOOs used mainly by researchers to share information, network, and exchange job tips. Job listings cover their virtual bulletin boards, electronic greeting cards are swapped, research ideas shared. Unlike with e-mail, there is an element of serendipity to MOOs—maybe you'll run into someone unexpected, with useful information. MediaMOO was created by Amy Bruckman, a graduate student in the Epistemology and Learning Group of the Media Lab at MIT, in the fall of 1992. Bruckman held an inaugural ball for the MOO on January 20, 1993, that competed with that other inaugural ball in Washington, D.C.; some 400 celebrants attended the virtual dance. Now, more than 1,000 people—mostly professors and students of communications and researchers in corporate labs—have permanent characters there. To have a permanent character on MediaMOO, you must submit an application that is reviewed by a committee of seven MediaMOO users; if two vote no, you are denied a permanent character. Like many other MOOs, MediaMOO is in the process of becoming a democracy. Bruckman no longer makes all the decisions; running MediaMOO is now up to elected officials, chosen by members in a secret ballot.

MediaMOO's most popular event is the Tuesday Café, which thirty or more people log on to every Tuesday night for a discussion.

```
Tuesday Cafe
A cheerful but quiet and peaceful
cafe overlooking the lobby of the
Nhetoric Headquarters. Sunlight
pours through the skylights, and
out the windows you see a well-kept
English garden. The smells of fresh
coffee and tea drift toward you as
you join your colleagues for some
shoptalk. Lots of comfortable
chairs and tables are scattered
about, and when more of your col-
leagues arrive, you simply push
more tables together. Each Tuesday
at 8:00 p.m. Eastern, the computers
and writing crowd gather here to
discuss-what else?-issues related to
the use of computers in the teach-
ing of writing.
```

BioMOO is based in Rehovot, Israel, at the Weizmann Institute of Science. It contains a laboratory filled with virtual machines that can manipulate virtual atoms, combine virtual enzymes, code virtual proteins into RNA, and display periodic tables. Anyone can log on to BioMOO and use it as a gateway to supercomputers around the world. I was given a tour by Gustavo Glusman, a graduate student in biology at the Weizmann Institute and BioMOO's founder, whom I found in the woods outside the biology building. Glusman explained that while BioMOO was a professional space for biologists, anyone could have a character here. Everyone with a character enters a description of his or her research interests. I started checking through lists and found descriptions like this:

```
Isolation and characterization of
the DNA encoding the 5' end of the
human/gabaa benzodiazepine alpha-1
subunit gene. Characterization of
the  promoter and control of gene
transcription.
```

Later I found the scientist whose description this was; his BioMOO name is Martin. IRL Martin is Martin David Leach, a graduate student at the Boston University School of Medicine, where he is working on his Ph.D. in molecular pharmacology.

```
Martin's bifunctional office (MBO)
This room appears to be a lavatory
but is in fact Martin's office. Feel
free to relieve yourself. Although i
don't recommend sitting on the seat
as it appears someone forgot to lift
it. Say no more! You can enter the
double helix by going east.

You see a toilet, Martin's Protein
and DNA database, a Notice from mar-
tin, a chalkboard, a programming
shortcut, a Tue Mar 15 20:21:51 1994
IST, and a sequence editor here.
```

Scientists have a rough life. I type a few toilet jokes and we move on.

Martin asks me if I want to see the machine he built in the lab, which analyzes genetic sequences. I say yes. This database is a search facility for scientists who want to compare a protein

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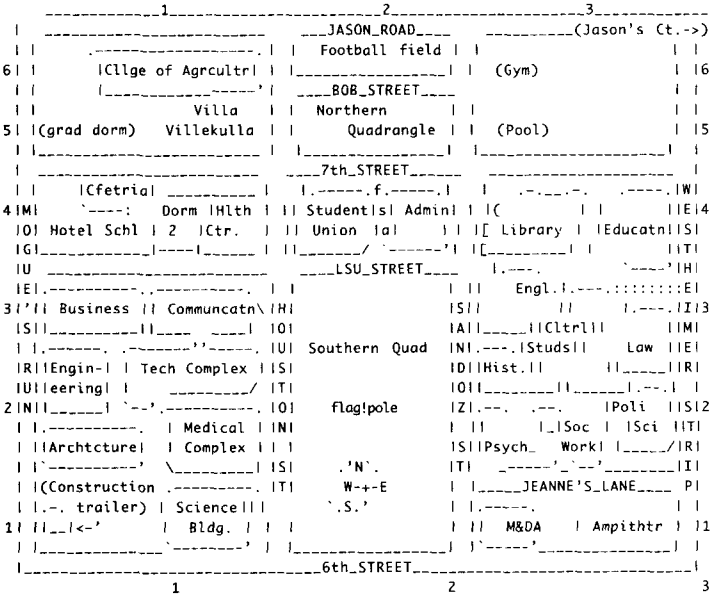
FLY ME TO THE MOO

or DNA sequence they isolated in a lab with known sequences stored in large databases around the world. The idea is that a scientist who discovers a genetic sequence can find out whether someone else has already catalogued it. Martin gives me a sequence to type in: `agatcagcgactgactgactatcatcagagacac`. I send my sequence off to the European Molecular Biology Laboratory (EMBL), a computer in Heidelberg, Germany, for analysis. EMBL is supposed to e-mail me the results in a couple of hours or days.

In addition to research and informal-networking MOOs there are many virtual classrooms in academic MOOspace. Some, like those in MUSHville, are components of small-time, relatively simple MOOs. Others borrow space in a large, complex MOO called Diversity University. This MOO is a virtual campus: DU's founder, Jeanne McWhorter (who is getting her master's degree in social work from the University of Houston), built the streets and buildings, and offices and classrooms spring up as users require them. This is what the campus looks like:



Without this kind of structure, MOOs quickly sprawl outward, following the contours of communal fantasy. Many find this element of MOOs exciting. So what if you pass from a closet to a cloud to a bar? This is a virtual world. In MOOs like DU, though, created for professional purposes, structures are useful.

Anyone can log on to DU, including students not registered in any classes. For now, use of DU is also free. To prevent uninvited guests from crashing, teachers can "lock" rooms to users who haven't asked their permission to enter. DU students are mostly American, but there are some Canadians as well. As the number of Internet nodes expands internationally, DU plans to create virtual events linking students around the world. At the moment there are no students attending DU or any other virtual university exclusively. That may change soon with the creation of GNA, the Global Network Academy.

GNA is vying to become the world's first accredited virtual university. Incorporated in the state of Texas in November 1993, GNA hopes to graduate its first degree-holding class by 2005. This April, GNA will begin teaching its first extension courses. Classes take place in a virtual campus, which is really a link between four different MOOs: Diversity University, MediaMOO, BioMOO, and the GNA lab. GNA contains a virtual library, which is a keyword-searchable index of information on the Internet, and which will make texts in the public domain available for course work. At the moment GNA offers only two courses—Introduction to the Internet and Introduction to Object-Oriented Programming Using C++—but in the future it will offer Renaissance Culture, Introduction to C Programming, and creative writing. Until copyright laws clearly define how electronic media should be billed for and distributed, virtual classes are limited to subjects whose texts tend to be in the public domain—subjects like math, writing, and "the classics."

Cynthia Wambeam, an instructor at the University of Wyoming, is one of the fifteen teachers who is borrowing classroom space at DU at the moment, and she has designed the courses she teaches there to double as investigations into the effect of virtual communication on writing. Wambeam teaches two freshman composition classes of twenty-three students. One uses the MOO; the other—the control group—does not. Both sets of students are required to keep journals. The control students write their entries in notebooks; the MOO students post theirs on an electronic bulletin board.

Wambeam devised this experiment with Leslie Harris, an assistant professor at Susquehanna University in Pennsylvania. What Wambeam and Harris want to know is: At the end of the class, which group will be better writers? At the end of the semester, all forty-six students will write an essay, and several outside evaluators, who do not know which students were in which group, will pore over the essays and try to discern differences in the students' prose. (Their results will be presented at the Computers and Writing conference in Missouri in May.)

Harris has found, in his own MOO classes, that computer mediation changes the nature of classroom dialogue: The role of the teacher shifts from conversation controller to facilitator, and the students have to take charge of the dis-

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cussion. Harris is asking his sophomore-level Western-literature students to re-create Dante's five levels of hell in MOO-space. The class is divided into five groups, each of which is programming a different level of hell, complete with scenery, characters, and dialogue, and will then perform the piece for the other groups. Students will view the performance from computers scattered around the campus, following the story as it appears on the screen—a textual theater. All this is supposed to give them an intimate experience of *The Inferno* through reenactment.

At Brown, Robert Coover teaches hypertext fiction in a MOO called the Hypertext Hotel. Students create virtual rooms in the hotel, each of which is a story, which can be added to by other students posting new text there. Since the hotel is on the Internet, they can also be added to by the MOO public. Usually "hypertext" describes writing where there is a dynamic link between two or more texts: Clicking on a word in one text transports you immediately to another text, from which you can click on another word and arrive at yet a third text. The Hypertext Hotel is more static than that—it is really just a conventional MOO, where each room contains a story instead of a description. Coover says the hotel is meant to be "playful, not a great literary document," and in fact the "stories" posted there are less experimental fiction than a kind of cyber–toilet-stall graffiti. Room names read like subheadings in a De Sade crib—titillation, abstinence, prostitution, quietude, servitude, necessity, electrocution, gesticulation, malnutrition, flotation, perambulation, and so forth.

I type, `follow titillation`

```
You enter titillation
titillation
dripping iron clits
lipping dry tits
tripping
slits.
```

```
follow abstinence
```

```
abstinence
hardcore ram function
extreme unction.
```

A few users of the hotel, led by hypertext-fiction author Carolyn Guyer, are trying to reclaim some literary integrity for it. Guyer has created "Hi-Pitched Voices," a wing of the hotel that has somehow remained free of graffiti. I wandered around there, through rooms with names like "want," "inspiration," and "mouth."

```
follow mouth
mouth
        This is the mouth
                of a cave
                   of a river
                     of a sea
                of a child
            of a gutter
                at a restaurant
                   in breath
                      in life
                        in sleep.
```

The text scrolls down my screen, waving from side to side as it appears. The movement is a surprise—it is even a little eerie—but otherwise the poem is obviously pretty bad. Coover agrees that much of the stuff in the hotel is bad. The lack of editorial control, he has realized, leads to a reading experience that is "very diffuse, and seems totally undirected, and is finally kind of a bore to move around in." As is the case with other MOOs, the very things that make the medium interesting—easy access and unrestricted participation—have also made it boring. Coover hopes that the hypertext created in the hotel will at least hold some sort of historical interest for future literary theorists. "Maybe thirty years from now, it will be like the Mickey Mouse watch," he suggests. "Maybe it will retain a kind of aura of its time that people will find compelling."

John Unsworth, director of the Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities at the University of Virginia (an organization started with a large grant from IBM intended to foster and develop computer-mediated research in the humanities), first used MOOs to teach composition classes at North Carolina State University at Raleigh. He has since become famous in certain circles as the creator of the Post Modern Culture MOO, or PMC. As far as Unsworth knows, PMC is the only MOO affiliated with a peer-reviewed electronic journal in the humanities, the journal being *Postmodern Culture,* whose editorial board includes such luminaries as Kathy Acker, Henry Louis Gates Jr., bell hooks, Avital Ronell, and Andrew Ross.

PMC is meant to be a serious MOO, a social space for intellectual discussion. It contains a library from which you can get articles from the Internet, a coffeehouse for casual conversation, individual rooms built by members, and a central lobby where everyone arrives. Discussion covers issues like "embodiments" and "cyber-subjectivity." PMC-MOO is frequented by pomo types of all ages—highschool students, graduate students, professors—and on any given night forty or so can be found there. I logged on as a guest, hoping to find out what Post Modern Culture means.

```
PMC-MOO is a virtual space designed
to promote the exploration of post-
modern theory and practice, a place
for intellectual meandering. Here,
we mix the unstable "real world" of
```


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FLY ME TO THE MOO

postmodernity with the solid virtuality of MOOspace.

*** Connected ***
The Welcome Mat
This is the welcome mat, outside the lobby of PMC-MOO. Above the northern door, a beady electric eye watches to see who will pass the sliding glass door. To the SOUTH, the wind whistles across the abandoned meadow, whipping little sales receipts across the weeds and waste.
Stick-a-fork-in-me-baby (asleep), netsurfer (asleep), Roger_Wilco (asleep), and Tree (asleep) are here.

Although twenty-one people were logged in with me, none of them could be found in the area described by the main PMC map; they had retreated to their respective private rooms. The only way to get to these rooms is by "teleporting" in, which requires a command like `@join Shrimp-Fried.Ninja`. Hoping to find out more about the postmodern condition, I joined the crustacean as a guest. There I discovered pomo culture is better experienced than described.

I type, @join Shrimp-Fried.Ninja
The Wanderer's Home
Home is where the heart is. In this case, you stand at the top of a tall, lonely hill. To the NORTH is the merriment of the Loche, and to the SOUTH is a gloomy cave, but here is only peace and serenity. Kick back and stay a while.
You see a Small Flightless Rodent here.
Taran, Larktongue, ANHOLLEMAN@vassar.edu, Slash, and Shrimp-Fried.Ninja are here.
Taran waves to Guest.
Shrimp-Fried.Ninja bows to Guest.
I type, emote wave back.
Shrimp-Fried.Ninja throws a Small Flightless Rodent into the air, for anyone to catch.
I type, "Hello Post Modern travelers
ANHOLLEMAN@vassar.edu catches the Small Flightless Rodent!
ANHOLLEMAN@vassar.edu throws a Small Flightless Rodent toward Guest. Catch it!
Shrimp-Fried.Ninja smiles.
Shrimp-Fried.Ninja says, "'lo guest. Catch it!"
ANHOLLEMAN@vassar.edu [to Guest]: PoMo sucks (sorry)
Larktongue waves.
Shrimp-Fried.Ninja says, "catch it!"
INTERCEPTION! Taran jumps out in front of you and catches the Small Flightless Rodent!
Shrimp-Fried.Ninja jumps up and down, cheering in admiration for Taran!
I type, "What's the point of this moo?
Taran throws a Small Flightless Rodent toward Shrimp-Fried.Ninja. Catch it!
Shrimp-Fried.Ninja catches the Small Flightless Rodent.
Taran [guest]: Point to life is to have fun.
I type, emote wonders what makes PMC-MOO special, if anything.
Shrimp-Fried.Ninja says, "The people! we make it special"
Shrimp-Fried.Ninja throws a Small Flightless Rodent towardsGuest. Catch it!
I type, eat the rodent. Yum.
ANHOLLEMAN@vassar.edu [to Guest]: We are more creative here, and there is more contiguity ...
Taran is rolling on the floor laughing!
You fail to catch the Small Flightless Rodent, and it falls to the ground.
Shrimp-Fried.Ninja says, "you have to catch it guest, otherwise it falls on the ground."
Shrimp-Fried.Ninja says, "duh."
Shrimp-Fried.Ninja throws a Small Flightless Rodent toward Taran.
I type, "I thought I ate the damn thing.
Taran makes a leaping catch of the Small Flightless Rodent!
Taran claps in admiration for Taran.
Taran throws a Small Flightless Rodent toward Slash.
INTERCEPTION! Shrimp-Fried.Ninja jumps out in front of Slash and catches the Small Flightless Rodent!
Shrimp-Fried.Ninja throws a Small

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```
Flightless Rodent into the air, for
anyone to catch.
ANHOLLEMAN@vassar.edu catches the
Small Flightless Rodent!
ANHOLLEMAN@vassar.edu [to Guest]:
just type 'catch rodent'
I type, "AHH
ANHOLLEMAN@vassar.edu throws a Small
Flightless Rodent toward Guest.
Catch it!
It's too high in the air for you to
catch right now!
I type, catch rodent
You jump up into the air and catch
the Small Flightless Rodent!
Taran claps in admiration for Guest.
```

PMC-MOO is also home to postmodern "events." One such event was hosted by a player called Ogre.

```
Tarquin says, "ok everyone"
Tarquin says, "I am going to turn
the floor over to Ogre in a second"
lazarus sips quad mocha.
Tarquin says, "According to _The
Autonomedia Calendar of Jubilee
Saints_, April Fools' Day originat-
ed with the calendar change of
1752. They call it 'A day of pranks
and fool's errands.'"
Tarquin says, "I hope we are in for
a treat tonite"
Tarquin says, "Ogre the show is all
yours"
Ogre hugs smack and flipper briefly
...
Ogre climbs up onto the stage and
turns and faces the crowd.
Tarquin jumps down from the stage
into the crowd.
Tarquin walks back into the dim
lite corner and takes a seat at a
table.
Ogre drops a petition (#715) to the
stage floor.
Ogre drops a can of gasoline.
Ogre seriously considers a suicide
of protest ...
Ogre sits cross-legged on the
ground ...
Ogre unscrews the cap on the can of
gasoline ...
```


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Harriet Ritvo, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
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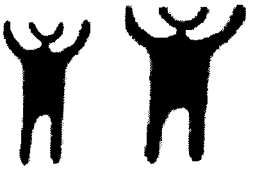

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FLY ME TO THE MOO

```
Ogre douses himself
with the gasoline ...
Ogre strikes a match and is immedi-
ately engulfed in flames!
Smack gets up from the back row.
Smack looks at Ogre
#2938 does not exist.
Sheila climbs up onto the stage and
turns and faces the crowd.
Tarquin wonders if he should call
the fire department
Skeeter's_Best_Morph climbs up onto
the stage and turns and faces the
crowd.
            <Clap Clap>
Flipper claps
Flipper claps
Flipper claps
    <Clap Clap>
Flipper claps
Flipper claps
  ps
              <Clap Clap>

     <Clap Clap>
Hawke claps, and stands.
              <Clap
                        <Clap Clap>
                   <Clap Clap>
        aps
                        <Clap Clap>
Flipper claps

                   <Clap Clap>
```

Ogre's "suicide" was the culmination of a nasty PMC-MOO fight involving a group of MOO terrorists who fled PMC after their experiments with virtual society began to seriously annoy John Unsworth and the PMC wizards. The terrorists claim these experiments were meant to probe the nature of existence in a virtual community.

The trouble began when Ogre and a few other players created what they called a terrorist class. The purpose of the terrorist class, according to Ogre, was to "experiment with factioning the community, developing semi-tangible classes which mimicked history or real life." People wishing to become terrorists read the following manifesto:

```
%% TERRORIST CLASS PLAYER INSTRUC-
TIONS %%
Welcome to the Terrorist Player
Class. Wear it proudly.
You are part of an elite
cadre now, with special pow-
ers
  and a duty to squash the bour-
geois Programmer Class once
and for all! We must keep them off
balance by striking
often. We must disseminate fear and
confusion.
```

Terrorists acquired a whole set of nasty verbs, including "steal" (for robbing other players of their virtual objects), "ditch" (for planting stolen goods on an innocent player), "slogan" (for spewing a set of predetermined neo-Mao terrorist slogans), "kill <player>," and "bomb <player>." The bombs at first killed only wizards; then they were upgraded to kill anyone in the room, including well-meaning guests. Dropping a bomb set off a spewing of several lines of text—

```
!!
!! You hear the screeching of tires,
a black sedan roars by filled
!! with ski-masked terrorists! A
Molotov cocktail is launched into !!
your midst!!
!! YOU'RE BEING HIT BY THE PMC-MOO
TERRORISTS !!
!! before you can think -
BOOOOOOOOOOM!!!!
!!
```

—after which hapless players were transferred against their will to room #310 as "eMOOgency services" carted them off to the hospital to recover.

The terrorists wanted to confront the older, more staid PMC users. "They complained that new users were more interested in playing around and making things than talking about Post Modern Culture," says Ogre now. "I thought this was a shallow take on the situation, because we were living pomo, and more often than not it was a chance to explore it more deeply than by exchanging notes with other people verbally. I've always objected to the paper trail of academe. Experience fortifies theory." Ultimately, the wizards removed the terrorist class, and that's when things got nasty. A battle ensued between the few truly angry players and the wizards. A character named Smack created an object called the DarkWhole that, when activated, would sense who was in the room with it and produce disturbing messages. Here is a sample of what happened when a guest was "fed" into the DarkWhole:

```
Feed DarkWhole with Guest

You choose the simulacrum of Guest
and drop it on the floor.
```


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```
A large black rat runs out of a
pile of burned debris, grabs
the tiny Guest, and leaps down one
of the DarkWhole of holes.
Smack says, "This is Live."
The DarkWhole emits <Guest pulls
you close inserting his hot hard
            rod in your tight wet
crack
The DarkWhole emits <Violet_Guest
kisses lightly at the sides of
            your abs.. obiques..
and farther up to your
            chest her hot tongue
plays with your nipples
The DarkWhole emits <Guest pulls you
to the ground, there's no
            going slow this time he
wants you so bad, he
            begins to thrust his
hips against yours faster
            and faster
The DarkWhole emits <Violet_Guest
feels the pain and wants it
            more ... more, more
```

This is the kind of programming that gets you in trouble. The solution adopted at first was punishment without due process. Offenders could be kicked off the system by being @toaded ("@toad" tells the computer to destroy someone's character. Only wizards have access to that command). One player, Sedate, created devices similar to the DarkWhole, except his were invisible; if a hapless player triggered one of them, the player would then be "locked" in place, unable to exit a loop of violently offensive text. Seeming to come from nowhere, the assault would go on for a half hour or more, spewing hundreds or thousands of lines of text, leaving the victim immobile, mute, and terminally frustrated. In the end these stunts proved too unpleasant, and Sedate was @toaded without warning. This angered a lot of other PMC members, and a number of them went into voluntary exile. So, like so many other MOOs dealing with these kinds of problems, PMC instituted a democratic method of dealing with offenders. Now, if a player is offensive, the victim can type `@banish`. A character with a certain number of @banishes associated with its name could get @toaded. Things seem to have settled down now over at PMC-MOO.

Meanwhile, some of the former PMC terrorists have set up camp at Point MOOt, Texas—a MOO created by Allan Alford, an undergraduate English major at the University of Texas at Austin. Point MOOt provides settlement space for long-term MOO users. Situated at a Texas crossroads, Point MOOt is open to homesteading—with a catch: There is a price for everything. First-time users are granted a small amount of credit to build objects, which corresponds to disk space and processing time. If an object is used by a lot of people, its creator is rewarded with more credits.

Point MOOt opened in February and already has more than 250 players, who have built some 4,000 objects using their credits. These include a university, a radio station, a TV station (MTV, MOO Television, which has put together a history of the town), several strip malls, an electronics outlet store, and a finance magazine called *FOOrbes* (which maintains a list of Point MOOt's ten wealthiest citizens). Alford is "contracting" to have utilities, roads, and other public services built. Since time is the only real commodity in cyber-

HOW TO REACH THE MOOS IN THIS ARTICLE

In all cases you must be able to "telnet" to these sites. Check with your local system administrator how to telnet from your internet account. Below are a list of telnet addresses. Once you succeed in getting a connection, type "connect guest guest" to get in, unless otherwise noted on the welcome screen you see on your terminal.

SOCIAL MOOS

MOO NAME	TELNET ADDRESS
ThunderDome	199.2.48.11 4444
Lambda-MOO	lambda.parc.xerox.com 8888
BayMOO	mud.crl.com 8888
Dhalgren	actinic.princeton.edu 7777
FurryMuck	138.74.0.10 8888
Point MOOt	actlab.rtf.utexas.edu 8888

EDUCATIONAL/PROFESSIONAL MOOS

MOO NAME	TELNET ADDRESS
Diversity University	erau.db.erau.edu 8888
MediaMOO	purple-crayon.media.mit.edu 8888
PMC-MOO	hero.village.virginia.edu 7777
WriteMUSH	palmer.sacc.colostate.edu 6250
Brown Hypertext Hotel	128.148.37.8 8888
Bio MOO	bioinformatics.weizmann.ac.il 8888

Allan Alford of Point MOOt invites anthropologists, social scientists, and anyone else interested in researching the evolution of virtual communities to contact him at chiphead@actlab.rtf.utexas.edu
David Bennahum awaits responses at davidsol@panix.com

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FLY ME TO THE MOO

space, the time that players invest in creating their objects is the real currency of Point MOOt's economy. The price of time is reflected in the prices people (or groups of people) charge for their objects.

Players are divided into three classes. Players who build nothing are considered to be on welfare. Their homes are in public housing ("drab," Alford admits), and they get one building credit per week from the computer. Most players belong to the working class. They go down to the city "job bank," examine the list of objects that need to be built, and contract to take on the public work; in return the city pays them and gives them credit to build. (Objects built by the city are communal and free for everyone to use.) The last class is the capitalist class. These players build objects and "sell" them to other players. Useful objects get sold often.

One player, named Warhol, has taken this one step further: Players "invest" in Warhol by giving him credits. He then builds very useful objects and sells them, using his profits to repay his investors. It is a sort of virtual stock offering. Even the wizard class is for sale—really successful players can "buy" the position. Alford predicts that as more players join Point MOOt, the community will evolve in unexpected ways. He thinks issues of governance will arise soon (at the moment, Point MOOt is still controlled by wizards), as more players invest time in the system.

Point MOOt is monitored more or less constantly by social scientists interested in virtual communities—a group likely to grow rapidly as MOOs become a more important part of everyday life. Jennifer Grace, for one, believes that MOOs are part of a general transition to a postindustrial world where information is the primary commodity, and that today's primordial virtual worlds provide a preview of what we may expect, IRL, in the future.

Every day the number of people using networked virtual spaces in education increases. The Internet as a whole now has 20 million users. At current rates (doubling every two years), the total could reach 160 million by the year 2000. These users will be not only Americans—they will be spread over the globe. In the course of writing this article, word got around, and I soon found myself receiving half a dozen e-mails daily from teachers telling me about another class, another project, another MOO.

Educators of all stripes are beginning to explore what it means to teach in a virtual environment, and preliminary results from these early experiments are trickling in. They will be delivered at a variety of conferences—the MLA and the Computers and Writing Conference among them. Teachers using MOOs report that almost all students enjoy using virtual space. For many of them, creating MOO prose is the first time writing is not a chore. They need to write to communicate with one another. They describe themselves and name themselves. Some build rooms of their own. What excites them is what excites so many of us: They have an audience. People read what they write. They have to in a MOO.

MOOs have their limitations. They discriminate against people who can't touch-type. They also require students to "multitask." As John Unsworth explains, "The people who grew up listening to music on the headphones with the television going while doing their homework have a decided advantage here. They are able to handle three or four conversations at once, following the threads, while other people who are used to doing one thing at a time find it very stressful." Teaching students in a MOO can be difficult; fortunately there are several mechanisms for controlling MOO conversations. One, called "stage talk," allows people to speak to one specific person rather than the whole room; saying hello to David in stage talk appears as "Scott [to David]: Hello." Another, "the yell," or "microphone," gags an entire class and allows only the teacher to speak. Perhaps most importantly, in MOOspace, faculty often lag behind students and allow unchecked information to be disseminated as fact. In virtual environments, metaphor easily becomes truth, and the truth is rarely screened.

Unlike other information-dispensing innovations such as the photocopier and the videocassette, networked virtual spaces are likely to fundamentally change academia, since as a mode of information distribution, MOOs may well prove as revolutionary as the movable-type press. Already, you can "publish" information without a publisher, certain that thousands may read your posting. How many people read you depends not on the decision of an editor but on how "useful" your information is, and how accessible you make it. Electronic information is uncontrolled—it resembles a virus, passing from one medium to the next, using computers as hosts and telephone lines as the means of infection. It grows, it is built upon layer by layer, and no one person owns it—it is too ethereal, too mercurial, to possess. It belongs to everyone.

There is no way to shut off this process. Soon, text-based networks will be complemented by image-based networks and hybrids of both. More and more information will be created and disseminated in cyberspace, and academic institutions will develop new tools to channel it. When history revisits this era, Pavel Curtis and his MOO may well deserve more than a footnote. He may find himself alongside Gutenberg.

David Bennahum is a regular contributor to Wired *and* The Economist. *He is the author of* In Their Own Words: The Beatles After the Breakup *and* k.d. lang.

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From the Authors of Anti-Œdipus...

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Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari

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Called by many France's foremost philosopher, Gilles Deleuze is one of the leading thinkers in the Western world. His acclaimed works and celebrated collaborations with Félix Guattari have established him as a seminal figure in the fields of literary criticism and philosophy. The long-awaited publication of WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY? in English marks *the culmination of Deleuze's career.*

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REPORT

REACHING THE CRITICAL MASSES

GEORGE SOROS SETS OFF A POPPERIAN EXPLOSION

ON THE NIGHT BEFORE Alfred Stepan, former dean of Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, is to leave for Budapest to become the first rector of Central European University, he has not finished packing. His answering machine is having an identity crisis, assaulting callers with a shrill fax tone and scrambling messages that are coming in an uninterrupted flow from two continents. Ignoring his wife's advice to concentrate on the task of leaving, Stepan is giving an interview.

"I've been asked if this was the hardest decision I've ever made," says the man who is about to leave Manhattan and one of America's top universities to take up residence in a hotel room in Eastern Europe to run a three-year-old university with no accreditation and an annual budget of $10 million. "I say, 'No, actually, it was one of the easiest decisions.' I knew I was being considered for the presidencies of some American universities. I was not interested. At this point in my life, I am interested in democratic transition and civil-society institution-building."

The CEU, with 525 students on two campuses—one in Budapest, one in Prague—and affiliated projects as far east as Moscow and as far west as Berkeley, California, is one of the largest experiments going in civil-society institution-building these days. It is the flagship laboratory of a gigantic social experiment conceived and bankrolled by George Soros, the Hungarian-born financier cum philosopher cum philanthropist who has made and lost, but chiefly made, billions of dollars speculating in the world's stock markets. While a student at the London School of Economics in the 1950s, Soros was a mentee of the philosopher Karl Popper, whose attacks on totalizing theories of history and on

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laws of social engineering have become curiously resonant in the postcommunist era. Now Soros wants to create a Popperian "open society"—characterized by a unchecked flow of ideas and a healthy civic life—in the former Soviet bloc. To this end, he has spent more than $300 million in less than a decade on countless projects—ranging from small-scale scholarship programs of which no one seems to keep track to summer camps for 5,000 children in Yugoslavia to $250 million worth of new textbooks and teacher retraining in Russia—designed to cultivate critical thinking in the miseducated masses of Eastern Europe.

Soros is a household name throughout Eastern Europe, the subject of myths in the making and myths already made. He has been demonized in the press as an agent of Hungarian-Jewish cosmopolitan Western capitalism. He has been lionized in the press as a Hungarian-Jewish cosmopolitan Western saint. It has been noted that his name reads the same forward and backward. It is repeatedly remarked upon that he made all his money himself, after leaving Hungary at the age of seventeen, immediately after World War II. "Is it true that $1,000 invested in his fund in the late 1960s is worth $1 million today?" asks a fellow passenger on the Belgrade–Budapest train. No, it's not, I say; it's worth $2 million (which is how Soros himself answered the question in an interview with a Russian paper). "Is it true that he is giving millions of dollars to my people?" he asks. That's hundreds of millions, I tell him, and not just to your people but to my people (I am from Russia) and all the other peoples of the former Eastern bloc. "Why?" the young Serb asks. "What is he getting out of it?"

Imagine knowing how the world works, I say. Imagine that you have made your way through the world's financial markets to become the most powerful investor on the planet (if business magazines are to be believed), and that from your thirty third-floor office in midtown Manhattan you can see not only most of New York City but most of this anxious postmodern world and how it could all be different. Imagine that you admit to entertaining "rather potent messianic fantasies" from an early age. Now that you have more money than you can possibly spend on yourself, wouldn't you try to make some part of the world work the way you alone know it should?

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IN EASTERN EUROPE

BY MASHA GESSEN

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REACHING THE CRITICAL MASSES

IF THERE IS A SEEDY neighborhood in Budapest, this is it. It seems to be the gathering place for most of the city's stray animals, many of which are victims of high-speed back-road driving and whose bodies litter the dusty sides of the road in front of the Central European University compound. On the outside, the campus represents the worst that Eastern European institutional architecture has to offer: mustard-colored identical boxes, and landscaping that proves that in the battle of man against nature, mediocrity wins. The freshly painted offices inside look as if they may have been furnished with a wholesale purchase from the Ikea store that has recently opened nearby. The furniture is Western, but the uniformity is unmistakably Eastern bloc.

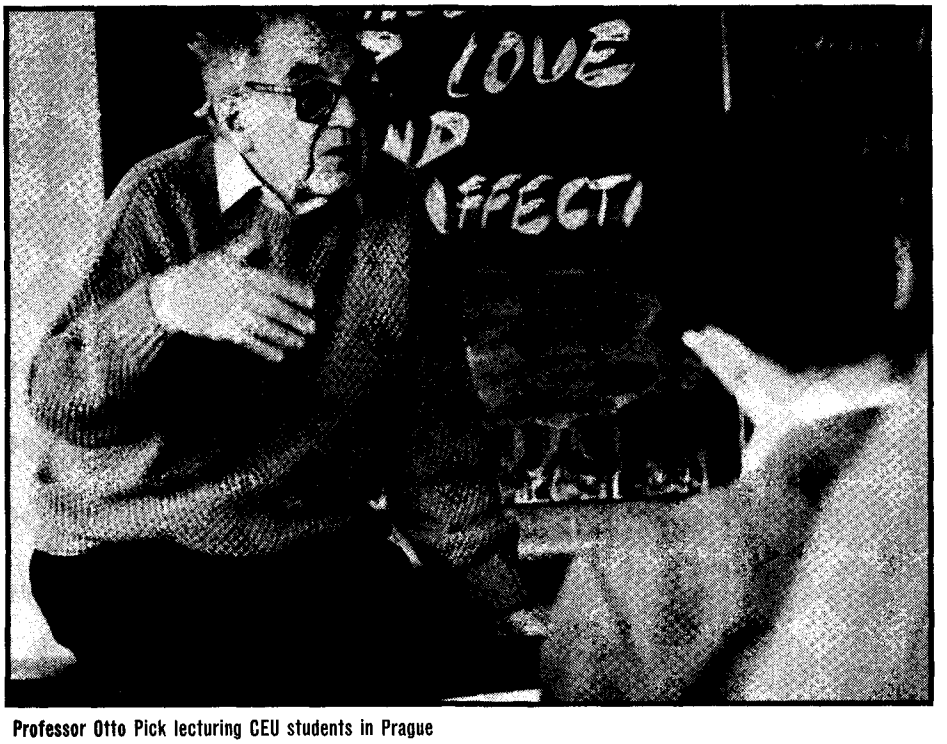
The first class I sit in on—a mandatory team-taught course for medievalists that is supposed to be an American-style seminar—is another less-than-perfect meeting of East and West. The hundred or so students enter and sit down in small ethnic groups: brown-haired Russians, blond Poles, dark Macedonians, and one instantly recognizable Western student, a Brit. The Brit is the only one who even attempts to listen to the guest lecturer, a scholar from Prague whose talk on medieval Bohemian paintings seems to have been thrust upon the students with no warning. The lecturer explains apologetically that only a couple of articles on her reading list are available in English. "Perhaps we can rely on the Slavic understanding," suggests one of the regular seminar instructors, a Hungarian. "Croats can read Czech, right?" The students in the Croatian cluster to whom he is addressing this look puzzled.

During the lecture, one student passes a book to another, who reads it, while the first writes a letter to her mother. Two do homework. Notes are being passed all over the room.

During the lecture the students are doing their own thing, as students are doing in lecture halls throughout this region. One Russian woman passes a book entitled *Psychoanalysis and Symbols* to another, who starts reading it. Two Macedonian women are doing their German homework together. The first Russian woman starts writing a letter to her mother (before the class is over, she will have filled four pages). A Russian man pauses in his reading of a Russian text to copy some poetry from a small book and hand it to her. Notes are being passed all over the room. I pass a few myself, asking students to comment on the class and the school.

"It's interesting to see and hear all discuss in one place, arguing and discussing about problems of medieval history, art, etc., etc. I'm satisfied with professors here." Written by a Macedonian woman who also tried to write a letter to her mother but seemed unable to concentrate, this observation is typical of the notes returned to me. Anne Lonsdale, who arrived in Budapest in early January from Oxford to become CEU's first secretary general, smiles in recognition when I tell her about it. "They never say anything negative," she says. These are students who were brought up to believe that criticizing anything official is a punishable offense.

Herein lies one of the problems faced by administrators trying to apply Western techniques to East-



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Professor Otto Pick lecturing CEU students in Prague

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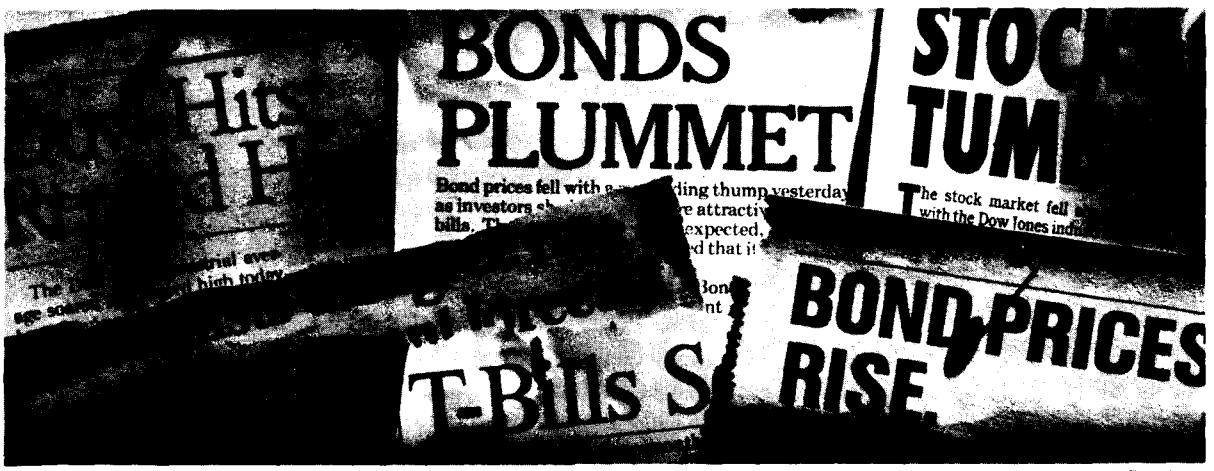
PRINCIPLES *of* SOUND RETIREMENT INVESTING



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ern European students. Stepan takes pride in having instituted a system of student evaluations, something which is unprecedented in the region. His experience at Columbia has led him to expect that a bad instructor would not last more than a year at CEU, which offers no tenure and plans to introduce three- and five-year contracts as well as recurring visiting-professor arrangements. But Lonsdale has already noticed that comments range upward from "satisfactory," so "you have to read between the lines because the students will never criticize directly."

"The other foundations are still thinking about setting up programs," says Ann Snitow. "Soros has been doing things [in Eastern Europe] for years."

Another problem is the region's lack of an American-style graduate school tradition. Higher education here has for a long time consisted of five years of lectures and exams, at the end of which students get their first degree, followed by independent research aimed at writing their dissertation. Interactive graduate seminars are a novelty that stacks the deck in favor of Western students, who "are not afraid to express vocal opposition to the professors," as Réka Pigniczky, a Hungarian-American political-science major, puts it. (At the moment, there are only a handful of students from outside Eastern Europe at CEU, but plans call for the school to build up that number to 25 percent of the student population.) On the rare occasions when Eastern European students do speak up, the gulf between the two groups and their respective worldviews becomes painfully apparent.

EVERY WORKER I MET at a Soros foundation office considers it his mission to bridge that gulf. These are people who require little prompting to bring forth a stream of impassioned argument, in the way of people who spend sleepless nights figuring out what they can do to make the world a different place. There are more than 1,000 of them, most in regional offices; five executive directors oversee the local foundations and report to Soros in weekly meetings. (It is a source of particular pride for Soros that no one in the network knows about everything the foundations are doing.) In February, Soros issued the first directory of the projects for which he is the principal funder: a 100-page paperback with a blue cover and an incongruously lofty introduction by the philanthropist himself. "The foundations are united . . . by a common purpose: to foster the evolution of a pluralistic and open society," he wrote. "I hope these foundations will cooperate in pursuit of this goal, and it is to facilitate direct contact between them that I have compiled this directory." That is the Soros approach to his philanthropy and his vision for the future: utterly serious, oddly idealistic, and strictly hands-on.

Soros began looking for ways to apply his vision to the world in 1979, when he set up the Open Society Fund. Its first beneficiary was the University of Cape Town in South Africa, where Soros endowed scholarships for black students but ultimately became frustrated by the way the university handled the funds. Soros turned next to the more familiar region of Eastern Europe, where he relied on word of mouth to identify dissident intellectuals deserving of scholarships for study in the United States. This program was most successful in Hungary, a country whose opposition culture was sufficiently developed and whose borders were sufficiently open to benefit from the generosity of its wealthy, Americanized son. By 1984, Soros had decided to create an institution that would administer his funds in Hungary in a more systematic fashion.

The resulting Soros Foundation-Hungary, formed in cooperation with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, was probably the headiest experience of Soros's philanthropic career, one that solidified his love affair with the intellectual opposition community and inspired his increasingly ambitious attempts to alter Eastern Europe by strategically redistributing his own wealth. As Soros writes in *Underwriting Democracy,* his third book, the Hungarian foundation "made a policy of supporting practically any initiative that was spontaneous and nongovernmental." It gave out grants and scholarships to writers and social scientists and provided photocopy machines for public libraries, with the proviso that they be accessible to the public—in a country where access to photocopying had been one of privileges most tightly controlled by the government.

One myth propagated by, among others, an awestruck *Business Week* writer in a 1993 cover story holds that these copiers played a key role in toppling the communist regime in Hungary. This interpretation ignores the fact that communist regimes fell throughout the Eastern bloc almost simultaneously, without any apparent Soros influence, but it is representative of the feverish enthusiasm with which Soros's foundations were greeted at the time. "The Ministry of Culture complained bitterly that we had more influence on cultural life in Hungary than they did," Soros recalled in a 1993 speech. "It was a glorious experience. Nothing the foundation can do today, however well it is done, can compare with the sense of satisfaction and the

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sense of accomplishment we enjoyed then." For a thrilling period in the mid- and late 1980s it seemed as though good ideas and a little seed money (the grants Soros made within Hungary's subsidized economy were extremely modest but, with an annual budget of about $3 million, numerous) could yield immediate results. In the space of a few years, for example, Soros Foundation-Hungary watched several student governments it had supported congeal into FIDESZ, the youth party that played a key role in Hungary's transition to postcommunism.

Between 1986 and 1988, Soros attempted to re-create his success in China, the Soviet Union, and Poland, but he stumbled badly. He was manipulated by the secret police in China and was initially stalled by bureaucratic morass in Poland and the U.S.S.R. He suspended his China projects after the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989, but he pressed on in Eastern Europe, establishing outposts in forty-five cities in twenty-two countries by the end of 1993. One of the foundations' strengths is the speed with which they work—an important forte in a region where history has shifted into overdrive. "The other foundations are still thinking about setting up programs," says Ann Snitow, a New School for Social Research professor active in her school's East and Central Europe Program, including a Soros-supported summer school in Krakow, Poland. "Soros has been there doing things for years."

The idea of founding CEU was first floated at a conference on Eastern Europe's reemerging nationalism called by Soros in 1988. Soros, who attributes his financial success to his aversion to institutions, initially rejected the notion of a university out of hand. About a year later, however, he came around and announced that he would give $5 million a year for five years to establish the school, which would then have to find new sources of funding. By the end of 1993, he had changed his mind again and committed to giving the school $10 million a year for another twenty years.

Initially, the university was to resemble the loose, decentered structure of the Soros foundations: It was to be a network of American-style graduate schools, strategically distributed throughout the region. But graduate schools need buildings in which to hold classes and dorm rooms for students, and obtaining those requires significant governmental cooperation—something Soros, the man of the subversive, transitory foundation, was not used to having to get. An early plan to set up a campus in Bratislava, Slovakia, fell victim to growing anti-Hungarian sentiment. Czech president Václav Havel, a longtime supporter of Soros's, offered to house a CEU college in Prague—but by the end of 1993, the Czech government had begun looking askance at the project. "The situation changed in Prague after the secession of Slovakia," says István Rév, the Hungarian historian and cultural critic who heads CEU's Budapest college: The leaner Czech Republic wished to be seen as part of Western Europe. Says Rév, "The new Czech government does not consider the Czech Republic a Central European country anymore. The CEU, which even in its name reminds them of this region, is not welcome."

The Czech government backed out of some agreements regarding buildings—a memory so painful for Soros that he asks not to go into it, admitting he felt betrayed by friends. Soros ultimately got some of the support he'd wanted after he declared he was closing the Prague campus. Nonetheless, the entire experience made Soros abandon the idea of a decentralized university and concentrate the administrative power in Budapest.

The Budapest college has had a less tortured infancy. The school was nursed by Budapest's close-knit community of noncommunist intellectuals, lured by salaries far higher than those in Hungarian schools and an invitation to do their own thing. The outcome of the college's laissez-faire approach was the bottom-up development of nine departments—with the result that the nine operated on seven different schedules, limiting most students to the small selection of classes within their own department. (The school has now agreed on a common calendar.) "This is a university which was started in absolutely the opposite way to that in which universities usually start," says Lonsdale. "Usually, you have a governmental decision: 'We are going to have a university.' The appointed head of the university plans the administration. Building is done, there is a very small intake of students, and you build up over five or ten years. It is fascinating to see the experiment tried the other way around."

"Look at this letter I just got," says an exasperated recruiter: "'Armenians can take the TOEFL test in Georgia.'" The admissions staff had apparently forgotten that Georgia is engulfed in civil war.

But even in Budapest, the government looms. It has threatened to prohibit the unaccredited school's use of the coveted title "university," putting the administration on notice that it is still a guest in an increasingly xenophobic society. My Budapest interview with Stepan got stretched out over most of a day and evening because a disheveled Rév kept running in with

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updates on the battle over the word "university." The sun had risen in New York and the stray dogs had begun their nighttime howl outside the CEU's windows in Budapest by the time Rév delivered and translated a letter from the Hungarian minister of education, which brought the welcome news that the ministry had agreed to postpone any action against CEU until after accrediting commissions issue judgments in the summer.

Recruitment is also riddled with snafus. At the Soros Foundation in Moscow, Marina Grafova, whose job it is to recruit CEU students from much of Russia and several former Soviet republics, wrapped herself in a fur coat to warm up in the foundation's freezing seventeenth-century quarters and recited them in a litany: "I spent a whole year fighting with [the CEU] to mail application materials to me via DHL, because the regular mail doesn't work. Then last year you had to have a new passport to leave the country. In some places it took four months to get the passport, but the CEU only gives me the lists of accepted applicants two months in advance. Then they all have to take the TOEFL [Test of English as a Foreign Language], which means they have to come to places where we have representatives. Which means you have to have the money and be able to buy a train ticket or a plane ticket, which aren't so easy to get. And if you don't have someone to stay with in Moscow, you have to come to the test straight from the airport. We've had people with excellent knowledge of English fail to get the necessary number of points. I don't think [the people at CEU] really understand our problems here. Look at this letter I just got—'Armenians can take the TOEFL test in Georgia.' " The CEU admissions staff had apparently forgotten that Georgia is engulfed by civil war.

It is the goal of people like Grafova to pull in talented young people from throughout the region and turn them into the political, legal, and academic leaders of the next generation. But in this region, where the turn away from communism has frequently meant that apparatchiks remain apparatchiks but cease calling themselves communists, CEU has to struggle with the question of how new the new leaders will be. "At the CEU we are educating an elite," Soros says. "I accept that as a mission. I don't view it as a criticism."

What is called for is nothing less than a new self-understanding—or, as Yelena Soboleva likes to say, "heads must be replaced."

But what remains an open question, as he acknowledges, is whether his elite is just *an* elite or *the* elite—beneficiaries of the old nomenklatura system.

With its stringent academic and English-language admissions requirements, CEU inevitably perpetuates the communist-era system of privileges; this has unhappy consequences, both ethnic and political. In Soviet Russia, for example, the better universities were closed to Jews, who are as a result far less likely than ethnic Russians to get into CEU. Until recently in Albania, the study of foreign languages was closed to anyone deemed ideologically impure. In an effort to level the turf there, the Soros Foundation in Albania has started offering English courses to families of former political prisoners. Still, as Albanian foundation director Avni Mustafaj admits, these courses will hardly prepare students to take the TOEFL. "Especially at the beginning, and especially in the legal-studies department," concedes Rév, whose current specialty is the regional phenomenon he calls "remembering otherwise," "we knew that those who knew English well had a special background." What does that mean? "I mean working in special places, where a language requirement was very important," he says reluctantly. Like what kinds of special places? "Like intelligence institutions."

Rév, for one, is not unduly disturbed by the ethnic homogeneity of the student delegations. "Sure, the Russians are Russian," he says. "But then, the Georgians are Georgian and the Latvians are Latvian. There is no Jewish state here in the region. If there were, then we would recruit from it. We teach the history of the Holocaust here. I teach it in my course. I haven't experienced anti-Semitism here at the university, although it is here, in the city, very much. It's not an issue here." And indeed, everyone at CEU exalts the diversity of the student body. That was, after all, the idea, the Soros vision of internationalism and regionalism (a vision that Rév deems a part of Soros's Jewish heritage as a child of a regional rather than a national culture). And CEU's faculty and administration, at least, are genuinely diverse: The core population of Hungarians has now been augmented not only by an American rector and a British secretary but also by a Czech baron who teaches in the European-studies department, a former Yugoslav minister of justice who has taken over the legal-studies department, and a steady stream of visiting instructors from throughout Eastern Europe.

WHETHER THE STUdents are the children of the privileged or the disgruntled and alienated, the end result—Soros's employees ardently believe—will be the same: a new self-understanding. Or, as Yelena Soboleva, formerly an economics professor who works at Soros's Moscow headquarters, likes to say, "Heads must be replaced."

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She goes on to explain, employing exactly the tone of unassailable authority that exemplifies the system of education Soros has been attacking here, "Humanities education is the weakest, most neglected—due to objective factors." What objective factors? The question draws an indignantly surprised look from her heavily made-up eyes. "Well, this was Marxist-Leninist education, after all. To teach economics or to try to give children or college students history or anything else based on the background we had—that is, of course, unrealistic."

Soboleva runs a project designed to help rectify this objective failure: the Transformation of the Humanities and Social Sciences Project, to which Soros has pledged $250 million, to be paid over ten years. In a statement he gave to Russian newspapers after meeting with President Boris Yeltsin in October 1993, Soros called it the biggest education reform in the history of the world. Launched two years ago with the Russian Ministry of Education, the project aims to supplant the humanities textbooks used by primary and secondary schools and higher-education institutions—and, along the way, to replace the heads of 100,000, or 10 percent, of the country's educators. (The region's big problem in the sciences—the hemorrhage of scientists to Western labs and taxi companies—is being addressed by Soros's International Science Foundation in Moscow, which has awarded $32 million in grants so far to 2,116 scientists from former Soviet republics to give them an incentive to stay.)

Not surprisingly, the Transformation Project thought it would generate these textbooks through a series of open competitions. The idea, booms Soboleva, was to attract people "who wouldn't have gone to the ministries. The only limitation was that all these materials had to be in the spirit of democratic transformations. There would be no totalitarianism or return to Marxism—that's a no-no. The paradigm, the directional vector, was clearly drawn: It had to be toward

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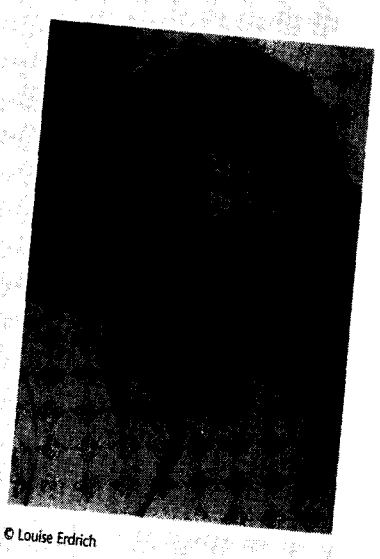
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world civilization, toward democratization. That's the only thing George set as a condition with our ministers."

The first competition yielded plenty of proposals for books on history, sociology, even the new field of social work, but almost nothing in other areas, such as legal studies. The foundation hopes to make up the deficit by translating texts from Western languages. Once the foundation selected 200 secondary-school and 150 higher-education proposals, the future authors were called in for seminars to make sure their heads were in the right place (all the textbooks had to be written with interactive teaching modes in mind). "Our textbooks are new to the core," brags Soboleva. "They explode both the content and the form of education. Some of the textbooks are complicated, and if you hand one of them to a regular teacher, he won't know what to do with it. He has to have his mentality changed, his head replaced." The textbooks began coming out last September, at the rate of about ten a month, with press runs of 10,000, which are divided among the seven Russian school districts that were chosen as testing grounds—and where heads have been replaced in preparation.

> "Young people don't want a classical university—we want a postmodern, transmodern, peripatetic university. We want new technology. We want to have history of rock."

The minister of education himself is collaborating with Jody Spiro, a former Long Island University administrator who now heads Soros's former Soviet Union programs, on a new curriculum in critical thinking. Talking about a retraining seminar for secondary-school principals, she tells me an illustrative anecdote: "When the school leaders were asked a question, three of them raised their hands. The first person gave an answer, and then the instructor called upon the second person, but she said, 'No, I was wrong.' 'What do you mean you were wrong?' 'I didn't have his answer.' Even with the school leaders the whole thing is, 'There is only one answer.'" But, she says, "we've got a winner here." She shows me a picture of eighty graduates of the foundation's program for secondary-school principals; all are wearing identical T-shirts, baseball caps, and American smiles. Their heads have clearly been replaced.

THERE IS A NOTICEABLE edge of militancy to Soros's educational reform in Russia. Spiro talks of attack. ("We aim to attack the issue from every conceivable side," she says, describing a deal the foundation has just completed to create a Russian *Sesame Street.*) Soboleva conjures up revolutions and explosions. Decisions on the Transformation Project are made by its Strategic Planning Committee, which, in its Russian incarnation as the Strategkomitet, carries a definite armed-forces zing. The nine-person Strategkomitet, which includes senior Soros officers and advisers as well as Russian education officials, meets every month and deals in terms such as "testing site" (for textbooks) and "Zero Week" (the period during which Russian and American trainers hammer out their curricula). When Soros tells the history of his foundation in Russia he uses phrases like "our own coup d'état" for what would elsewhere be known as a management change (Soros engineered two of them before the current team, installed about two years ago, got the place moving).

The length of time it took to get the foundation up and running is a source of acute regret for Soros, and the urge to seize what's left of the moment might account for the bellicose rhetoric. Witness an internally distributed blueprint for the latest Soros project in Russia—a new bilingual university to be called the Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences, slated to open in 1995. "Considering the task and the social and political environment, the preparatory period [of twenty months] may still prove inadequate if we do not begin at once, move fast, keep harsh standards of self-discipline and adopt a parallel development plan," the document reads. "To those who know military history, this way of planning would be not unlike the ways Napoleonic armies fought and won, i.e., where all the army is divided into columns—each of them acting independently and marching separately (with its own provisioning, planning command and cadres) to meet at a time agreed at a battlefield chosen."

Distressing as these military metaphors are in a region where war is once again the stuff of reality, they do invoke the passions of the Soros foundations in their glory days, when Eastern European intellectuals were dizzy with the sense that victory was at hand. Today that kind of excitement is rarer. Gone are the writer-politicians. Gone is the faith that democratic opportunities will ensure democratic outcomes. Worst of all, gone is the belief that opening access to information—and to the West—will ensure the formation of civil society. While in Russia it may still be possible to work, hope, and pray for democratic transformation until the 1996 presidential elections, in some other countries in the region one is hard-pressed to find a peg on which to hang hopes for a better future.

Yugoslavia is one such country. This may be why in Belgrade the CEU concept elicits only mild enthusiasm: Not

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even Soros's affiliates there see salvation in the opportunity to learn. Yugoslavia, after all, was the only communist country that gave its citizens the freedom to travel and to read and learn about anything they wanted. Thus enlightened, the people of Serbia have now voted twice for a war criminal.

"Intellectuals here didn't do their job," says Jovan Cekic. "They didn't see what was going on. They are trying to save their souls." Cekic is trying to impress this upon me in the café at Belgrade's Hotel Moscow, where old men gather to talk about the war. In tasteful shades of gray cashmere and tiny wire-rimmed glasses, Cekic looks trendy and out of place in the deserted, debris-strewn city of Belgrade. Cekic, a forty-year-old Belgrade-born philosopher and conceptual artist, is working on a new Soros-sponsored school, which may be named the Great School, after an old college in Belgrade, or, if Cekic has his way, something "less grand," like the Center for Modernity.

Cekic seems to feel that the way to do his job is to create a place where the works of Gilles Deleuze will be taught, where multimedia will be available, where the deadening constraints of the formal university will be absent. "Young people don't want to go to a classical university," he claims. "We want to have a postmodern, transmodern, peripatetic university. We want to have new technology. We want to have history of rock. And when we look at the slaves in Greece, we want to say, 'What does it look like, the sexual life of those slaves, and how is it different now?' " A working group of about twenty people plans to launch the new center in May and offer the history of rock to students sixteen and up.

Somewhat less hip and arguably more useful are the offerings of other workers in Soros's Belgrade offices—a handful of extraordinarily serious, chain-smoking men and women dressed either in grim Eastern European business gear or in variations on Parisian student fashions circa 1968. Since the fall of 1993, when Soros made himself one of the Yugoslav media's favorite enemies by voicing his support for military intervention in Bosnia, a burly man has stood at the door and gruffly inquired after visitors' identities and business. He seems sincerely disappointed every time he lets someone enter the offices, which are decorated with children's drawings.

The foundation has been trying to lure back professors who had fled the country, handing out grants that would allow them to teach sessions at the Academy of Music in Novy Sad or to lecture at the University of Belgrade on subjects such as multiethnicism and the history of civil society in the Balkans. It has also funded various small-scale independent-learning projects, starting with the Belgrade Women's Studies Center, which earlier this year received a Soros-funded apartment down the block from the foundation and in June will host a conference on women in Eastern Europe entitled "What Can We Do for Ourselves?"

"We are a crazy foundation," sighs Sonja Licht, a sociologist, peace activist, and well-known Yugoslav opposition figure who now heads the Soros Yugoslavia Foundation in Belgrade. "We are terrified of the fact that most of the good-quality young people left or are thinking about leaving. We believe that this is extremely dangerous for the long-term future of this society. So what we are trying to do is not only give young people a different kind of education, an education in the spirit of an open society, but also open up for them a perspective, in this terribly unperspective country."

"SO WHY IS HE DOING this?" asks a Russian journalist sitting next to me on the flight from Moscow to New York, as the Serb on the train asked, as every other person in this region has asked after hearing I am writing a story about Soros's education projects. Imagine, I say to her, as I say to all of them, that you are a person without a home. Imagine that you were fourteen when the Holocaust arrived in your country in 1944, and in order to survive you posed as the godson of a Hungarian official who traveled around the country confiscating the property of Jews deported to death camps—and at one point you had to deliver their deportation notices. Imagine that you went to England as a refugee and were denied assistance by the Jewish philanthropic society, which meant you had to work at a series of menial jobs while you got your education. Imagine that you became an emigré for the second time, moving to the United States, and that after nearly half a century of living in the English-speaking world you still spoke English with a heavy accent—and had acquired an accent in your native language as well. Wouldn't you try to find a home for your ideas, if not for yourself?

Soros's philosophy offers little to grasp on to—and this, perversely, comforts the independent thinkers in his employ.

Of course, if you did, and you were George Soros, you wouldn't be the first upper-class Jew to offer your ideas for a superior system of social organization to this part of the world. The soil is fertile here: As Soros recognizes, abstract thought is remarkably well integrated into Eastern European culture, which is perhaps why Soros's projects have blossomed here and died in places like South Africa and China. "People in Eastern Europe do not shy away from philosophical questions; on

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e contrary, they take a passionate interest in them," he writes in *Underwriting Democracy*. "Philosophy and literature, especially poetry, really matter. Since I come from Eastern Europe myself, I have found this attitude very congenial."

Soros would probably rather talk about his philosophy than about anything else. Questions about his feelings seem to make him uncomfortable, and questions about his biography bore him. Only when I ask him to explain his theory of historical development does his large, angular face become animated, finally giving the impression that he is actually trying to communicate something from behind the vast desk set oddly toward the front of his large office.

Soros's theory of history, which closely resembles his theory of boom-bust patterns in markets, is an eccentric mixture of Popperian anti-historicism, the chaos theory of the Russian-born physicist Ilya Prigogine, and Soros's own insights. It rests on three basic premises: One, the law stating that in all things there is a tendency toward equilibrium no longer holds true once things get far enough out of whack; two, the course of complex phenomena is not governed by universally valid laws and therefore cannot be predicted; and three, human understanding is fallible, and its fallibility is a direct factor in shaping historical events. As Soros puts it, "What people think influences what happens." Hence Soros's determination to change Eastern Europe through education: By influencing what people think, one influences the course of history.

Convinced that he sees something other people don't, Soros has been trying to influence the course of history by making his insights public for years. Periodically over the last half decade he has offered unsolicited advice to the U.S. government, urging it to offer large-scale assistance to the Soviet Union in 1989, for example, or to intervene militarily in Bosnia in 1993. In the Soviet Union, he attempted in 1988 to persuade Mikhail Gorbachev to adopt the 500-day economic-reform plan (many people now believe that it was when Gorbachev abandoned this that he doomed perestroika).

But while Soros's gift of prediction is legendary in the investment world—even a rumor of an impending Soros statement nets a story in the *New York Times* Business section—his voice has not carried in political realms. In fact, it was his inability to reach President Bush or even the secretary of state prior to the 1989 Malta Summit that prompted Soros to write *Opening the Soviet System*. "Those are the facts," Soros agrees, when I bring up his failure to influence state policy. "But I think that is changing. Partly because of media attention, my influence has become bigger. I feel that I am getting a hearing in Eastern Europe and I'm getting a hearing in the United States."

> "You know, George has said that rich people make money and very rich people make history," says Soboleva. "I've analyzed it—as an economist, even—and I think it's true."

In *Underwriting Democracy* Soros writes that he has "become what I like to call a stateless statesman" in the former Soviet bloc. Not only his projects but also his doctrines are finding a niche in this part of the world—but so are a lot of other philosophies, from those offered by resurrected churches to those professed by television psychics to those imported by American missionaries and cult followers. In less than ten years, the rigid philosophical foundations of life in the Eastern bloc have been shattered and official ideology has made a 180-degree turn, transforming what were glorifying old evils and turning old certainties into anachronisms. "The whole region is having a nervous breakdown," says Ann Snitow.

Soros's philosophy, however, offers little to grasp on to—and this, perversely, comforts independent thinkers in his employ. "It's true that George Soros has a theory for everything," says István Rév. "But his theory is quite vague and flexible. In a sense, you could say that CEU is very much influenced by the philosophy of openness. We take academic freedom and freedom of expression very, very seriously here. It's a place designed partly to produce conflict."

Soros easily acknowledges that "undoubtedly, critical thinking can also be a form of dogma." But, he adds, "at least you have a better chance of avoiding that if you take it seriously." In *Underwriting Democracy* he goes further, conceding that any social system "becomes absurd and intolerable if it is carried to its logical conclusion." Soros may be the first revolutionary to try to revolutionize in moderation.

It may be this facet of his personality that causes otherwise reasonable skeptics like Soboleva or Snitow to gush, or to exclaim, as CEU dean Karen Greenberg did, "He *is* a saint!" But not all saints are effective. It remains to be seen how much good will result from Soros's efforts. "You know, George has said that rich people make money and very rich people make history," says Soboleva. "I've analyzed it—as an economist, even—and I think it's true." But Soros himself is none too optimistic about the direction of history in the region. Just he has been predicting for several years, "things"—armed conflict in Yugoslavia and elsewhere, nationalism, and backsliding on economic reforms—"have moved in the wrong direction," he says. And he

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doesn't overestimate his role in all this: "The loss of that year [in Russia], I think, was crucial. Other than that, I don't think we could have done much more. The events are much bigger than the foundations."

Soros's views dictate that his own foundations will eventually die the inevitable death of any command economy. How much change will they have brought about by then? It is much too early to say. Some smaller projects, like the Krakow summer school, whose gender-studies course graduates have gone on to start organizations around the region, have already proved successful. Others, like a scholarship program for public administrators from Russia whose beneficiaries have mostly stayed in the United States, have clearly failed. The impact of large-scale projects like the CEU and the Transformation of the Humanities will not be known for some time. At the very least, though, Soros will have supported some people who would otherwise have left Eastern and Central Europe sooner, and his vision of an open society will have affected some of the tens of thousands of people who have participated in his programs. And that, says Sonja Licht in Belgrade, is a great contribution. "I am extremely grateful to Soros," Licht admits. "I told him this even though I don't like to make compliments and sometimes I think people try to please him too much. I told him that I don't know how I could have coped with the unbelievable depression I was in—even though I was organizing peace actions, because that's the only thing I could do. But he gave me something and gave something to all of us here.

"But at some point, we have to stop the expectation that George Soros is going to be able to change the whole world," she says, drawing on a cigarette. "He would like to—but it's a little too big for him. Even for him."

Masha Gessen is a Moscow-based journalist.

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AMARTYA SEN REDEFINES NEED

ECONOMIST

BY ANDREW COHEN

Amartya Sen is the new president of the American Economic Association, the former president of the International Economic Association, a professor of economics at Harvard, a professor of philosophy at Harvard, and an engaging nonstop talker who nonetheless makes himself extremely hard to interview. On the day I met him in Cambridge, he had to fly to New York to give a lecture on population policy. He had just returned from Italy, where he'd presented a paper and picked up an honorary doctorate. He'd stopped over in England, where he and his wife, the economic historian Emma Rothschild, have an apartment. He was due soon in Spain, to give another lecture and collect another honorary degree, and in Switzerland, where he would lecture again and acquire his twenty-second honorary Ph.D. ("I fear this is really the consequence of age," he told me later. "It is a kind of intimation of mortality.") He suggested that we take the shuttle to New York together, after lunch, to have more time to talk. He explained that he was running late.

Sen is sixty years old, slightly built, given to rumpled corduroys and running shoes. When he's late, he begins to jog. It was an unseasonably snowy day in March, and as he dodged through the frozen puddles of Harvard Yard wearing a pointy blue stocking-cap that gave him an elfin, Santa's-helper look, he explained his views on population policy. He stopped when he noticed that I was twenty feet behind him. "I'm awfully sorry for making you run," he said, nervously waiting for me to navigate the ice. "I've more to tell you about my student days in India, and there's still your question about Rawls. This is my house. There's the cab. I fear we must hurry."

Though Sen calls himself "an economist with an interest in philosophy," he has published books in both fields. Actually, there don't seem to be many fields in which Sen hasn't published—his paper titles careen wildly from "Interpersonal Aggregation and Partial Comparability" (a theoretical piece for *Econometrica*) to "On Corruption and Organized Crime" (Sen's address to the Italian Parliament's Anti-Mafia Commission last year) to "A Quantitative Study of Brain Drain From the Developing Countries to the United States" (for the *Journal of Development Planning*). Sen is best known for his work on famines, his development of new and arguably fairer measures of poverty, and his claim that owing to the neglect of female babies and mistreatment of women in Asia and Africa, "One Hundred Million Women Are Missing" (as the title of his 1990 *New York Review of Books* essay has it). Robert Solow, his Nobel Prize–winning friend at M.I.T., calls Sen "the conscience of the economic profession." He is rumored to be next in line for a Nobel Prize himself.

Modern economics is "nuts-and-boltsy," Solow explains: "You tell me what you want to achieve, and I'll design the lowest-cost, most efficient way of doing it." Sen, however, has "made it his business to ask about the goals of economic policy—what it means to say that we're doing the right thing, what's a good society," Solow says. What makes up a good society is a subject most economists would shy away from. "Economics has virtually nothing to say on that question," says Gary Becker, a neoclassicist professor of economics at the University of Chicago. "I'm not sure philosophy does either." To be sure, Sen does not have a plan for the perfect society, nor does he

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think it his job to produce one. Rather, he has made it his business to challenge the ways economists calculate well-being—and in so doing has transformed the profession's understanding both of human need and of the mechanics of poverty.

Sen's work on famines has not only revolutionized the way economists think about the subject—it has changed the way some governments and relief agencies fight them. In *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (Oxford, 1981), Sen showed that famines often come about not because there is no food—the 1974 famine in Bangladesh, for instance, occurred at a time when food production was not especially low—but because people in the poorest stratum of society have lost their ability to buy it. Before Sen began to write on the subject, the hunger level in a country was gauged by indicators such as national food production and per-capita income. Sen demonstrated that these measures sometimes concealed great suffering. He pointed out that income by itself is meaningless as a measure of welfare, since a person's well-being will be determined not by her income but by what she can buy with it. If a person is discriminated against, or handicapped, or sick, her income will not ensure access to necessary goods and services. And if food prices rise dramatically while a person's income stays the same, she may starve.

Sen showed that famines come about not because there is no food, but because poor people can't afford to buy it.

PHOTO BY JOHN BOHN

Sen was not the first to realize that income or Gross National Product (GNP) is an imperfect measure of welfare, but he has gone further than almost anyone else toward developing alternative measures. He has often defied conventional economic methodologies to do so. As part of one lengthy study, Sen personally took the weight, height, and other "anthropometric" measures of 250 children in two Bengali villages, relating these findings to their class, their gender, and their access to food. "If anybody had asked me what I thought was doing, I would have said economics," he says. To make his argument about missing women, Sen borrowed demographic techniques. He pointed out that while women tend to outnumber men in Western societies because women have "natural advantages" in survival—that is, they live longer—in most of Asia and North Africa, men outnumber women because women and girls receive less food and medical attention than boys and men. He then calculated how many more women would be alive today if the male-to-female ratio in Asia and North Africa were the same as in Europe, and came up with the figure of 100 million.

Measurement in general is more difficult than it may appear: GNP is a measure of the value of goods and services produced in a

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country's economy, but it is not a measure of welfare. Giant toxin-belching factories increase GNP. Car accidents put mechanics to work, increasing GNP. Heart attacks increase GNP—more so as health-care costs spiral upward. Other measures, however, give some indication of a country's health: the rate of infant mortality, say. The amount of food consumed by the poor. The chance that someone growing up in Bangladesh, or in Harlem, will live to see forty.

As a result of Sen's work, hunger-relief policies in India have been considerably refined and redirected. The Indian state of Maharashtra had already employed public-works programs in place of direct food distribution to avert famine after a severe drought, but Sen showed why the policy worked: The most vulnerable portion of the population, kept employed during the crisis, remained able to afford food. Unfortunately, Sen does not have much influence on policy outside India, and so in many parts of the world the old famine-relief policies continue to do damage. In Africa the standard practice is still to round the starving into feeding camps. During the last famine in Ethiopia, this led to tens of thousands of deaths from infectious diseases. In Somalia, the free distribution of food entailed a vicious catch-22, because it denied local farmers any way to earn a living.

Sen learned about famines firsthand: He grew up in Bengal. He was nine years old when the famine of 1943 struck. It was "an ordeal of almost unbelievable ferocity," he says, which claimed nearly three million lives. At the time, Sen was living with his family in Dacca, now the capital of Bangladesh. His grandfather was a Sanskrit scholar, his father a chemistry professor, and his mother a well-known dancer. Sen's family was part of an intellectual middle class—not well off, but not subject to the privations of the hungrier classes.

"People were arriving as if from nowhere in search of food," Sen recalled. We were sitting down to lunch in a sunlit room of the Harvard Faculty Club. He grimaced. "Tens, thousands, countless people made of skin and bone. But there was not a single person that I knew who had the slightest difficulty. I could not understand it then." The British colonial government did nothing—in part, Sen believes, because in 1942, there had been a nationalist uprising in Bengal, which the British had suppressed. The British inaction in 1943 may have been a way of getting even.

During the Hindu-Muslim riots, the Muslim worker was forced to go out and work because his family was hungry. Says Sen: "The penalty of that economic unfreedom turned out to be death."

Later, Sen determined that the famine stemmed from the ongoing world war. It was what he oxymoronically terms a "boom famine." Common sense dictates that famines should happen during economic slumps, not booms, but Sen maintains that the famine began with the economic expansion that an influx of troops unleashed in Calcutta. "The British and the British Indian army were massively encamped," he says. According to Sen, Calcutta's urban poor were able to afford more food because they were earning more money as a result—and because the government was subsidizing urban food consumption. But as the demand for food increased in the cities, food prices rose in the countryside too, and rural laborers, whose incomes had remained fixed during the boom—they weren't the ones working in concessions in Calcutta, after all—found they could no longer pay the prices asked for basic foods.

Censorship intensified the ensuing panic. The Bengali papers were not permitted to discuss the famine freely, and at the request of the British authorities, the local English-language papers restrained their reporting too. Food disappeared from the marketplace—it was hoarded, it was bought for extravagant prices, it was seized. The British government put the weekly death toll at 1,000; Sen puts it at thirty-eight times that figure. In *Poverty and Famines*, Sen documents how in Bengal the British editor of *The Statesman*, Ian Stephens, finally broke the silence by attacking the British secretary of state for India in a series of editorials. Relief operations began two weeks later. Sen writes: "It is hard to forget the sight of thousands of shriveled people—begging feebly, suffering atrociously, and dying quietly. The nature of the social failure must be seen to be all the more intolerable in view of later studies of the famine, which showed that the total food supply in Bengal was not particularly low during the famine period. Those who died lacked the means to obtain the food that was there."

As a student at Presidency College, Calcutta's top undergraduate institution, Sen spent a lot of time wondering about hunger. "We talked about the nature of world injustice and inequalities within India," he says. "It was hard not to be left-wing, with misery all around." He did not join the Communist Party, however—put off by,

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among other things, its "ceaseless dogmatism," its "lack of interest in democracy," and his sense that it failed to provide "any political theory." "It was a common view in Bengal that there could be no change short of a revolution. I believed that," he says. "Only I thought it wasn't clear that a revolution would help either."

But Sen was shortly obliged to put aside all thoughts of politics. "I was living in a dorm in Calcutta," he says. "I was eighteen years old when I developed a swelling in my mouth. A medical student lived next door. He didn't think it was serious. I went to a public hospital in Calcutta, where the doctor wanted to cut it out. Overnight I became an expert in cancer. I found out that if it were cancer, cutting it could make it spread."

Sen was treated with a massive dose of radiation. "The technician was up for two nights calculating the maximum dose he could give me—8,000 rad. Radiation kills young cells, like cancer cells, but my whole body was young. It was an exercise in brinkmanship," he says. He couldn't eat solid food for five months. "The probability was high that I would have a relapse within five years," he remembers. "Of course it affected my psychology. It was part of the reason for my always being in a rush."

Sen never had a relapse, though the radiation still gave him trouble with the bones in his palate and jaw twenty years later. When he returned to school, he flirted with physics ("I wouldn't be here if it weren't for nuclear medicine") but went on to study economics instead ("economics students finished by lunchtime"). Before his five-year death sentence was up, he had moved on to Trinity College, Cambridge, and had taken up studies with the economist Piero Sraffa and the Marxist scholar Maurice Dobb. By the time he was twenty-seven he had published his first book, *Choice of Techniques* (Oxford, 1960), married the Bengali poet Nabaneeta Dev (with whom he later had two children), and translated his grandfather's book *Hinduism* into English for Penguin (it became a bestseller).

The Bengal famine was actually Sen's second formative childhood experience. One year earlier, when he was eight, he had his first glimpse of ethnic violence—an "insane" flare-up that pitted Muslims and Hindus against one another. Sen's family was Hindu and lived in a predominantly Hindu, middle-class neighborhood. One day, a Muslim day laborer staggered up to Sen's house with a knife in his back, bleeding and pleading for help. He had been stabbed by Hindu extremists. Sen's father took the man to the hospital, where he died. In an essay called "Individual Freedom as a Social Commitment," Sen would rethink the episode: "His wife had told him not to go into a hostile area during the communal riots. But he had to go out in search of work because his family had nothing to eat. The penalty of that economic unfreedom turned out to be death."

Economic unfreedom is a concept Sen has spent much of his career refining. What exactly is poverty and how does it prevent people from living their lives the way they want to? Clearly income alone is inadequate as a measure of well-being, but what would be a better one? "Effective freedom" is the way Sen describes a state in which a person has truly escaped economic bondage. He defines "effective freedom" as being able to turn "primary goods" (such as income and voting rights) into "the kind of life people value leading."

The kinds of lives most people value leading involve a number of components: being healthy, being well fed, and being literate, for example. Sen calls these states of being "functionings." Sen believes economists should use as their measure of welfare the achievement of desirable functionings,

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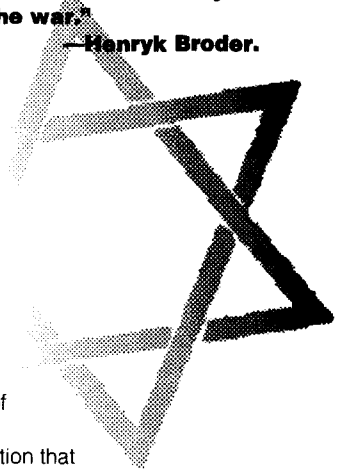

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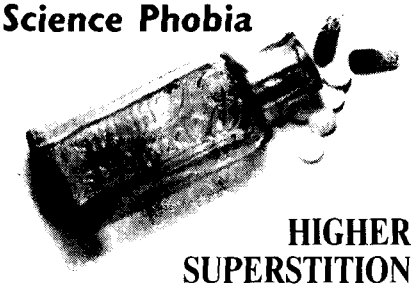

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or *ends*, rather than the possession of *means* to those ends, such as income. It is this aspect of Sen's economics that is revolutionary, because it entails calculating welfare by examining not a person's theoretical ability to secure a good life for herself but how she actually lives.

Achievement of basic welfare is important, but beyond that it is also important to be able to choose between functionings—between various aspects of the good life. One person, for example, might wish to jeopardize his health for the sake of becoming very learned. Another person might wish to eschew higher learning for the sake of making money. Having the opportunity to make these decisions is the second element of effective freedom; Sen calls this kind of opportunity "capability." A good society will not only allow its members to achieve basic welfare but also grant them the capability to choose between different kinds of functionings.

"The measure of freedom will be vague but quite straightforward: We want to live long, we don't want to be tortured, we want to be free of disease."

Including things like literacy and freedom to vote among the components of the good life might seem an obvious thing to do, but in fact most economists do not. Most economists define welfare in material terms: food, shelter, income, etc. Sen is dissatisfied with this narrow definition. He maintains that "the jettisoning of all motivations and valuations other than the extremely narrow one of self-interest is hard to justify," since people desire not only the kind of material goods that may be purchased with income but also nonmaterial goods, such as freedom, equality, and political rights. Sen has argued that such nonmaterial goods need to be incorporated into the economist's utilitarian calculus; in doing this he borrows from the liberal philosophy of his Harvard colleague John Rawls. Sen's economics is still utilitarianism, but it is a broader utilitarianism that incorporates not just the market basket but the voting booth as well.

This broadening of utilitarianism naturally makes solving problems of welfare considerably more complicated. "Suppose two people, a man and a woman, are competing for a job," Sen says. "It so happens that the woman's husband already has a job, but the man's wife does not. From the standpoint of pure utility, it's possible to say that the man should be paid more. But from the standpoint of equity, we'd like to see equal pay for equal work." For a measure of welfare to be meaningful, it must incorporate all the parts of a good life; which is why the phrase "effective freedom" conveys much better than the standard "utility" what economists should be looking for when they talk about welfare. "The measure of freedom will be vague but quite straightforward," Sen says. "We have agreement on many variables. We want to live long, we don't want to be tortured, we want to be free of disease. Death is generally regarded as bad. We want freedom. I often say 'effective freedom,' but it is freedom as Aristotle, Marx, Smith, Roosevelt, and Gandhi have understood it."

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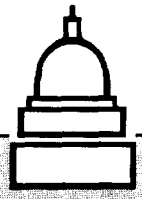
Sen's wider definition of welfare has also fundamentally altered a highly theoretical branch of welfare economics that has its roots in the work of Stanford economist Kenneth Arrow: social choice theory. Social choice theory looks at people's different desires and preferences from the (theoretical) standpoint of social planning: Assuming that a government has limited resources at its disposal, how should it choose its priorities? What method should it use to decide among the preferences of its citizens? When Arrow began working on these questions in the 1940s, he was attempting to formulate a way to aggregate preferences that obeyed a number of conditions. One of these was that the government should not be a dictatorship; another was the Pareto principle, which holds that no one's utility should be increased except when it is possible to do so without decreasing anybody else's. In 1951, however, Arrow proved his now famous "impossibility theorem," which states that obeying the Pareto principle is logically impossible except under a dictatorship. The implication of the impossibility theorem for a society that rejects the option of a dictatorship is that consensus politics is impossible: Somebody's preferences will always have to be jettisoned for the sake of someone else's.

Sen, who is, after Arrow, the most respected social choice theorist, took Arrow's proof and extended it to incorporate aspects of liberal philosophy. Sen proved (in what is called the "impossibility of the Paretian liberal" proof in the literature of social choice theory) that the Pareto principle also cannot be satisfied in a society that deems inviolable the realm of individual liberty, as understood by classical liberal theorists such as John Stuart Mill—that is, the realm of personal matters (what to read, whether or how to be religious, etc.). Sen illustrates this argument with two hypothetical characters—one prudish, the other gullible—who have come by a copy of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. The two characters (or a hypothetical arbitrator) have to decide which of them, if anybody, should read the book. The prude might have a set of preferences as follows: The best situation would be one in which nobody read the book; the next best situation would be one in which he alone read the book, since he at least will not be so susceptible to the lewd influences of Mr. Lawrence; and the least desirable situation would be for the gullible man to read the book and possibly derive unsavory pleasure from it. The gullible character, on the other hand, might have a totally different set of preferences: He might find the thought of the prude being forced to read Lawrence so amusing that for him the best situation would be the prude reading the book; if that were not possible, he would like at least to read the book himself; worst for him would be a situation in which nobody read the book at all. It is logically impossible, then, to satisfy both the prude and the gullible character without violating the sphere of personal liberty, since that sphere includes such private decisions as

Sen's "impossibility of the Paretian liberal" proof—which sets a prudish man against a gullible one—compelled economists to reexamine some of their most fundamental assumptions.



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choice of reading matter.

The problem of the prudish and the gullible characters is a problem, Sen explains, of "nosy preferences." He argues that in every society there will be at least one member who is so nosy that he gets more utility out of interfering in other people's private life than out of being uninterfered with in his own; and in the case of this person, preservation of the sphere of personal liberty would involve overriding his preferences. When Sen published this proof in 1970 he threw much of the economics profession into disarray. Most mainstream economists had assumed that they could adhere to basic liberal tenets while attempting to follow the Pareto principle (didn't they both, after all, involve respecting individual preferences?). By proving that in fact the two were logically incompatible, Sen compelled economists to reexamine some of their most fundamental assumptions.

One of the more remarkable things about Sen is that, in a discipline in which the chasm separating leftist and conservative thinkers is unusually wide, he has managed to earn the respect of almost every ideological group. Sen addresses problems that matter to the left (such as poverty and famine), but the tools he uses and refines are those of mainstream, neoclassical economics. He does, of course, have his critics. He is attacked from the left by Marxists who argue that inequalities in "effective freedom" derive from inequalities in power, and hence that to focus on things like literacy rates and health, as Sen does, is to focus on the symptoms rather than the cause of unfreedom. Sen is also attacked by Marxists for "assuming preferences"—that is, for assuming, as virtually all non-Marxist economists do, that a person simply has a set of preferences for one kind of life or another, and how she came by them is a question that economists need not worry about. Marxists argue that a person's preferences are directly influenced by the economic system she inhabits, and that taking them for granted amounts to failure to question the economic status quo.

"Lifeboat ethics" particularly gall Sen. Rather than a trade-off between freedom and the satisfaction of economic needs, Sen sees a link.

There is another group that takes issue with Sen; many of its members recently made an appearance as Third World delegates at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna. These critics maintain that poor countries cannot afford political liberties—what those countries need is a "hard state" to foster economic development and to contain a Third World population explosion. Political liberties are and should be the first casualty of "lifeboat ethics." This is an argument that particularly galls Sen. Rather than a trade-off between freedom and the satisfaction of economic needs, Sen sees an integral connection. There has never been a famine in a democracy, he points out, since democratic leaders are obliged to attend to the needs of their constituents or lose their jobs. For years Sen has made it one of his chief crusades to argue for the importance of this fact. He has also been outspoken in his opposition to China's coercive population-control policy ("forced abortion in the cause of eugenics"): This arguments runs along the same lines. He shows that although China's birthrate is low for the developing world, the state of Kerala in India has achieved a lower rate, without coercion, by expanding educational and health services for women and by capitalizing on traditional inheritance laws that favor women. Sen writes that "the moving force has been the desire of Keralan women—less threatened by child mortality and more educated than in other poor societies—to free themselves from continuous child rearing." The byproduct of China's policy of compulsion, on the other hand, has been a rise in neglect of female babies, in female infanticide, and in sex-selective abortion.

Sen's friends have one complaint about him: that he spreads himself too thin. At the American Economic Association conference last January he was, he admits, "literally running from field to field," from math-intensive microeconomics forums to seminars on African agriculture. Organizing the conference, Sen put together dozens of sessions about discrimination, gender inequality, and poverty.

And frequently, Sen steps outside the two disciplines he supposedly works in: On the day I visited the undergraduate course in philosophy he team-teaches with philosopher Robert Nozick, "Invariance, Symmetry, and Fixed Points," the guest lecturer was physicist Sidney Coleman, speaking about the ten dimensions of the universe. (There aren't three or four dimensions anymore. There are ten.)

Solow says that his friend Sen juggles too many interests and "might make a deeper impression if he focused." The British economist Joan Robinson, Sen's adviser at Cambridge, told him to give up his interest in that "ethics rubbish." Many leftist scholars, comfortable with Sen's empirical work, are puzzled by his abstruse mathematical excursions; Lance Taylor, a development economist at the New School for Social Research, calls them "Delphic negativism." Mathematical economists, on the other hand, wish Sen would produce more proofs. But Sen is merely living the life he values leading.

Andrew Cohen writes for The Nation *and* The New York Observer.

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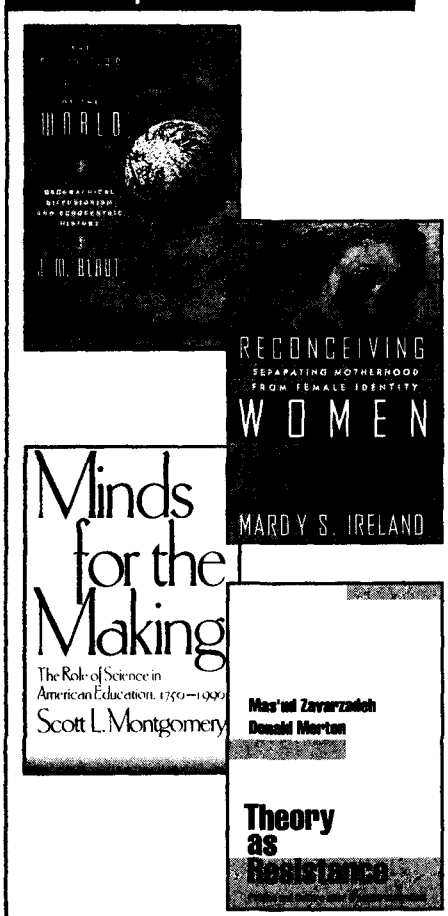

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OBITUARY

HIGH PLAINS DRIFTER

HOW THE DEATH OF A LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGE UNMOORED ONE MIDWESTERN TOWN

BY LIZA MUNDY

The most aggravating part of that day, many former St. Mary–ites agree, was the grief therapy. The day was February 17, 1992, and at three that afternoon, President Bernard Parker assembled all the faculty and administrators of St. Mary of the Plains College in the Chapel of the Immaculate Conception. There he announced that the college, the only four-year liberal-arts institution in Dodge City, Kansas—indeed, the only one within 20,000 square miles—would close in four months. Citing budgetary shortfalls as well as continuing fallout from a liaison with a trucking school, he described the decision as "incontrovertible and nonnegotiable." St. Mary employees were then herded in groups of fifteen or twenty into a conference room just off the cafeteria, where the trauma team had been waiting since morning.

The dozen or so grief specialists had been bused in from a hospital in Wichita, some 150 miles away. It may well be that they were more experienced in great and terrible disasters like tornadoes, floods, and fires than in the closing of small liberal-arts colleges; in any event, they struck some St. Mary employees as being deeply out of touch. One faculty member recalls his grief specialist rather coldly advising members of the group to share their misery and then, basically, shut up. "It was kind of a get-your-feelings-out-but-suck-it-up kind of thing," the professor says. Janet Kliesen, a pleasant and ordinarily gregarious woman who served as St. Mary's director of alumni relations, told the therapists she couldn't really think of anything to say and would prefer to return to her office, please, so she could start phoning alumni groups to let them know that they no longer had an alma mater. The therapists persisted. She managed at last to flee, and swears to this day that if she's ever obliged to go into therapy, she "would *not*."

By that evening, all of Dodge City knew St. Mary was closing. Kliesen went into town for dinner to avoid her ringing phone, but she could hardly eat for all the people coming up to her wanting to know what had happened. St. Mary was, after all, a very small college in a very small town, and though there had not been a huge amount of noticeable interaction between the two, the ties turned out to be stronger than most people realized. As one St. Mary graduate, Sue Sprenkle, discovered when she took a job at the local paper: Residents "went to the games. They picked up a newspaper to check the scores. They were more involved with the college than I had ever thought. That was really weird, because it's this little old perfect world on campus, and I always figured that nobody knew about us."

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The image of the university that most of us cling to, even when we're affiliated with one, tends to be fairly old-fashioned. It is the more or less unmodified descendant of Cardinal Newman's nineteenth-century treatise *The Idea of a University:* the university as an entity apart, a community of scholars, an inviolate enclave of free inquiry and rational thought. (Of course, some people would argue that it is also a hotbed of thwarted intellect and frustrated ambition.) On the rare occasions when we are moved to consider the university's social role, we often transmogrify it into something grandiose: the university as revolutionary crucible, as Earth's last best hope for international peace and nuclear disarmament and major medical breakthroughs. Only when serious conflict erupts do we stop to consider the college's place in its immediate environs.

But there is another way to look at the town-gown relationship. Besides being a community unto itself with its own fragile ecology, a college is also a feeder of ideas, services, and people into its surrounding community. And it is in a smallish town like Dodge City—one devoid of grand cultural edifices and all the other places that gather the public together—that these functions are most keenly missed when a college closes. It was the dual roles of the college as both public forum and economic anchor that became evident after the religious order that ran St. Mary, the Congregation of the Sisters of St. Joseph, packed up and got the hell out of Dodge City, an otherwise unremarkable town located in an overwhelmingly rural corner of an overwhelmingly rural state.

Dodge City (pop. 21,000) is a place distinctive mainly for its mythologized past: The town came into being as a destination for the great Western cattle drives and earned a reputation for prostitution and gunslinging that, however exaggerated, was immortalized in *Gunsmoke*. Thanks to the series, Dodge City is still a kind of C-grade tourist attraction, drawing visitors to Boot Hill cemetery and the motels along Wyatt Earp Boulevard, to the annual summer rodeo, and even, if they still have some time on their hands, to the "world's largest hand-dug well," which is not far away. But what Dodge City really is is a meat-packing town. Driving in on bad days, you smell Dodge City before you see it. The slaughterhouse is located on the eastern side of town, where cattle huddle on the hillside near the fertilizer plant. The local industries employ mostly blue-collar workers, many of them Hispanic and Vietnamese immigrants, and partly for this reason the town has retained its reputation for violence. The police department has identified ten street gangs in town, some of them homegrown and some affiliated with gangs in Wichita and Denver.

None of this unpleasantness was visible from the campus of St. Mary, which occupies a prime piece of gently elevated real estate on the town's northern edge. Even from that vantage point, St. Mary's faculty could see only a tiny portion of the community they served. To understand how far-flung that community was, consider that 20,000 square miles is approximately ten times the size of Delaware, twenty times the size of Rhode Island, and more than twice the size of Massachusetts—a state with 113 colleges, universities, community colleges, and seminaries. St. Mary "was a gathering place for all the people who were interested in furthering their education, and music, and arts," says Evelyn Steimel, who lives in the nearby town of Wright, where her family runs the grain elevator. "I think it was a necessary thing, particularly in this part of the world. In the early days there were hardly trees, just barren land, and then there was this building that was bigger and taller and more wonderful than anything else."

Once the school closed, St. Mary's 837 students either graduated or transferred, and most of its 160 employees were left to fend for themselves—some moved elsewhere, some retired, and one economics professor, Mike Eckles, a lifelong Dodge City resident, has devoted himself to finding a new occupant for the campus. All this dealt Dodge City an immediate economic blow. St. Mary had an annual budget of some $5 million, which had an estimated $20 million yearly impact on the area. Paychecks were spent locally. Faculty and administrators bought houses, groceries, cars. Parents came to town for homecomings, games, graduation. With the closing of the college, many of the nearby establishments—Pizza Hut, Duffy's Sports Bar, and Best Western Silver Spur—noticed a drop-off in business.

St. Mary had also provided about one third of the area's social workers—young people who knew southwestern Kansas and liked living there. "They were extremely important to us, primarily because the other colleges that have social-work degrees are back east—KU, K State," says Eileen Nufer, a supervisor with the city's Family Preservation Department. "Most people who've gone to KU or K State don't want to return to western Kansas." After St. Mary closed, Nufer had two vacancies that went unfilled for more than a year. "I didn't have anyone to interview," she says.

Similarly, six of the twenty-four patrolmen on the Dodge City police force are graduates of St. Mary, most of them from its criminal justice department. Some were hired with degrees; others were able to earn their diplomas after joining the force, by taking classes at St. Mary part-time. Now, Capt. Bill Sutton figures, the force will have to lower its standards, ending up, eventually, with fewer officers with college degrees. "I think [officers] with a well-rounded education deal with people better," he says, "though there are a lot of people in

"In the early days there were hardly trees, just barren land, and then this building that was taller and more wonderful than anything else."

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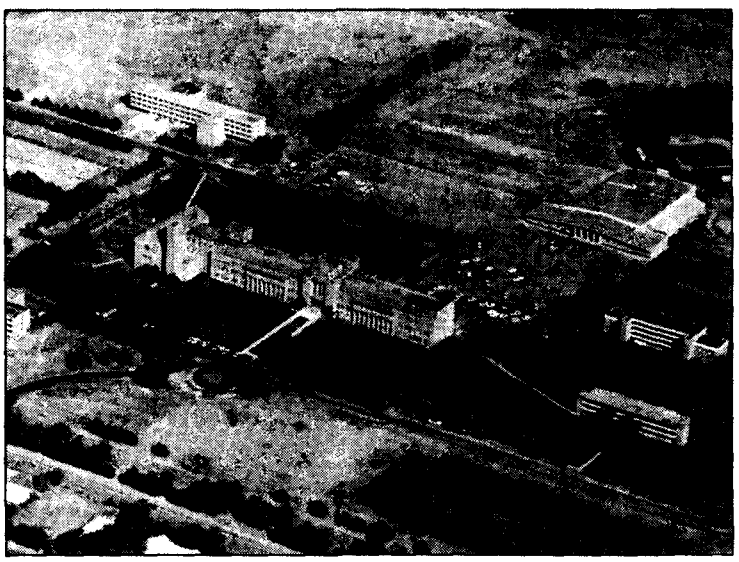
St. Mary's budget figures were so secretive that the head of the education department had no idea what his own teachers were making.

the law-enforcement community who wouldn't agree with me."

Most missed will be the huge crop of public-school teachers produced by St. Mary's elementary-education department—more than from any other private college in the state. Some 25 percent of Dodge City's public-school teachers are St. Mary graduates, according to Rod Allen, an assistant superintendent of schools. The college also provided summer workshops and recertification courses for local teachers, as well as outreach courses in five nearby communities.

The closing also affected students at the two-year college in town—Dodge City Community College. Previously, many residents of the area, young and old, would start out at the local community college, then finish up at St. Mary. Now they must travel more than 100 miles to complete their degrees.



St. Mary of the Plains, Dodge City, Kansas

In the aftermath of the school's closing, students, employees, and Dodge City residents told me, the thing they found the most frustrating was their inability to isolate a target at which to aim their anger. In a sense you could say that St. Mary's troubles began in the 1970s, when the school found itself struggling financially. Founded just twenty years earlier, it hadn't had time to build up much of an endowment. The Vietnam-era boom in college attendance was dropping off, religious colleges were going out of fashion, and St. Mary, like other small Catholic institutions, was looking at a shrinking enrollment and rising costs. The sisters who had provided abundant and devoted labor were literally dying out, forcing the school to hire more expensive lay faculty. At the same time, the Wichita-based religious order was becoming increasingly involved in its lucrative health care network, CSJ Health Systems of Wichita, a group of medical facilities that some say was siphoning off the best and brightest nuns, abandoning the school to the sometimes fanciful whims of its lay leader. "Anybody with any brains at all was pulled out of the college and into the hospital," says Michael Westerhaus, a professor of biology who used to teach at St. Mary. "There were no sisters left in administration."

On top of that, the school's accounting system was not entirely under control. According to several administrators, St. Mary never managed to master its finances, never managed to figure out which departments made money and which didn't. Budget figures were so secretive that Don Barber, head of the education department, had no idea what his own teachers were making. Only one thing was clear: Each year the school lost money, and each year the Sisters of St. Joseph made up the shortfall—usually about $300,000.

Michael McCarthy, the curly-haired, bespectacled man who became president of the college in 1975, dabbled in a variety of money-making ventures, some of which were successful. He founded continuing-education outreach programs in the nearby towns of Colby, Garden City, and Pratt. He thought up the idea of constructing a nursing home next door to the school, a low-slung Spanish-style edifice known as Manor of the Plains, which offered retirees the advantage of taking classes at St. Mary and overlooking the campus in their old age. (It is still there, its rooms now providing a view of the abandoned college grounds.) He set up a foreign-exchange program that brought full-fee-paying students from Taiwan to St. Mary and other Kansas colleges.

But the most tempting opportunity presented itself in late 1984, when McCarthy heard that the Texas-based American Truck Driving School (ATDS) was looking for a college to affiliate itself with. The trade school was willing to pay good money for "rental accreditation," as the setup is sometimes called—that is, a "renting out" of accreditation and, more important, eligibility for federal student loans by a four-year college. McCarthy struck a deal with the president of the truck-driving school, Dick Crane. St. Mary would "sponsor" ATDS, thus enabling the trucking students to qualify for federal loans and doing all the necessary paperwork. For this service, St. Mary would receive $250 per student, with a guarantee of $150,000 per year.

Such an arrangement, though it may sound bizarre, was not unheard of. According to Patricia Thrash, executive director of the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools—the organization that accredits colleges in that part of the country—a number of two-year community colleges had similar deals with trucking schools. So McCarthy was not acting without precedent when he presented his newest proposal to the Sisters of St. Joseph and the St. Mary board of regents, who approved the deal. To make it official, they had to get the approval of North Central. Thrash had

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HIGH PLAINS DRIFTER

her doubts. "To run a truck-driving school is a very different thing from running a liberal arts institution," she says. But, she adds, St. Mary made a convincing case. Among other things, the sisters argued that "part of their mission was to serve the poor. This is part of their service."

North Central approved the liaison, with the understanding that St. Mary would oversee the truck-driving program, and the U.S. Department of Education began issuing federal loans to ATDS students. ATDS promptly stepped up its recruiting, setting up offices throughout the Southwest, broadcasting television announcements, and otherwise luring potential truck drivers with the promise of an exciting career maneuvering semis. Among the targets for enrollment, according to a series of investigative articles in the Hutchinson, Kansas, *News*, were laid-off auto workers in Michigan and unemployed oil-field workers in Texas.

In and of itself, there's nothing unseemly about a truck-driving school. You do need training and certification to drive a big rig, and the job's not easy—a point made in a 1988 *Time* article about ATDS. "I don't think there's anything wrong with the fact that you teach people to drive trucks," argues Barber, the education department head, who regarded the affiliation as a kind of goodwill gesture on the part of the academic elite.

Other members of the elite saw matters differently. When the announcement of the new money-making scheme was made at a faculty meeting, recalls Westerhaus, it provoked an uproar. "I thought, *My God, what have I gotten into?*" says Westerhaus, who had just been hired. "One faculty member went into a tirade, screaming and yelling hysterically at the president that no good would come from it, it would be the ruination of the college, the ruination of all of us. I mean, it was prophetic."

At the outset, though, things looked terrific. Thanks to its newfound loan eligibility, ATDS was enrolling thousands of students—more students, in fact, than it could possibly train at one time. It had developed a clever mechanism to accommodate this overflow: Once a student enrolled in ATDS, he or she had to complete a correspondence course before attending one of the ATDS training courses in Coldwater, Michigan, or Elm Mont, Texas, where ATDS taught its driving course on an abandoned military airfield. The correspondence portion required twenty hours of work a week for six months, a daunting requirement—so daunting, in fact, that scores of people signed up for the course, received their loan check, endorsed it to St. Mary (which took its cut and then passed the rest along to ATDS), and were never heard from again. Several years later, when the loans came due, they had forgotten that they'd ever heard of the American Truck Driving School. "To this day I get calls from students who were enrolled in ATDS, signed the note for the funds, and never did go to school, never thought any more about that," says Janet Kliesen, who still maintains a cramped and lonely office on the campus.

Why was no alarm sounded? Possibly because all of this was occurring in the late Eighties, a time when, all at once, trade schools awoke to the advantages of federal largesse. They began recruiting students at a phenomenal rate, promising them cost-deferred rides to professional degrees, preaching community service, and ultimately racking up loan defaults at rates that cost the country billions of dollars each year. The U.S. Department of Education, long known as a political dumping ground, was incapable of policing what was going on.

At St. Mary, what was going on was pretty amazing. The new alliance brought in more money than the college had anticipated. In 1988, according to the *Hutchinson News*, more than $30 million in student loans was processed through St. Mary for trucking-school students—nearly one third of the federal student loans awarded in Kansas that year. Over the slightly more than four years that it was affiliated with ATDS, St. Mary would receive an unforeseen $4 million for its services.

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"The way [the federal financial-aid program] was designed, it invited abuse," says Patricia Thrash. "We created a monster."

The liaison was so profitable, in fact, that the school even had a little money left over to do some remodeling.

If it looked to good to be true, it was. In January 1988, according to the *Hutchinson News*, emissaries from North Central paid an on-site visit to ATDS, where they "expressed concern about the extent to which the program is driven by government-financed federal aid." In May of that year, the Department of Education changed its regulations, declaring that in affiliations of this nature, the accredited institution must provide half the education for trade-school students. St. Mary clearly wasn't doing this, according to the *News*, and so the Department of Education suspended the loan eligibility of the ATDS program in Texas and Michigan.

However, St. Mary and ATDS had already begun rejiggering things. Under a new contract, St. Mary assumed the administration of the correspondence course—thereby, it was argued, supplying 50 percent of the education. In July, the Department of Education said okay, and the partnership was back in business. At the same time, though, ATDS's loan-default rate began to soar. The federal limit on defaults is 35 percent; in 1987, 51 percent of ATDS students defaulted on their loans. Because St. Mary was the accredited institution, that default rate was factored into the college's, which until that point had been respectably low. ATDS, in other words, was slowly poisoning St. Mary. Realizing that the correspondence course was the heart of the problem, McCarthy and others pressured ATDS owner Crane to curtail that requirement, according to the *News*. But this never happened.

In 1989, things got worse: Loan defaults again exceeded the federal limit, and St. Mary's lawyers learned that ATDS had failed to return some $2.6 million in loans that should have reverted to the government after students dropped out. According to the *News*, ATDS had apparently used the money for operating capital. At the end of that year, McCarthy signed an agreement to grant ATDS credit while the trade school looked around for additional financing—but he did not get the approval of the college trustees first. McCarthy later voluntarily resigned. He would be replaced by an interim president, and then by Bernard Parker.

In early 1990, St. Mary's lawyers sent Crane a letter terminating their contract. In June 1990, however, the Department of Education completed an audit of the truck-driving program. It found that the program, as administered, had been operating in violation of federal regulations. Contrary to the school's claims, the truck-driving students were receiving the bulk of their education from ATDS—not from St. Mary. In fact, they had never even been registered as St. Mary students. The loans should never have been made. And, according to the government, St. Mary—not ATDS—should pay them back.

The liability was estimated at around $92 million—a figure that people at St. Mary truly could not comprehend.

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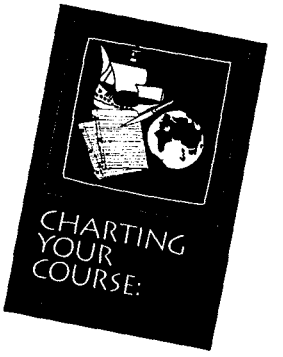

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"People would go around saying, 'Isn't that terrible, $900,000,' or 'Isn't that terrible, $9 million,'" says one former administrator with a dark laugh. When I talk to Janet Kliesen, she insists that the school owed $92 *billion*. "Nobody could owe them that much," she wails. Even those who get the number right can't believe it is accurate. Bob Heath, attorney for the Sisters of St. Joseph, describes the figure as "absolutely ludicrous."

Even then, most people believed it might be possible to save the school. Heath and St. Mary officials flew to Washington to offer $1 million, $3 million, anything, just to get the government to call the whole thing off. "We offered different settlements," says Sister Antoinette Yelek, the sisters' general superior at the time, "but they were never satisfied."

The school's last hope was destroyed when it was learned that, thanks to the truck-driving school, in 1991 St. Mary had again exceeded a loan-default rate of 35 percent—meaning that it had surpassed the allowable limit in three different years. Three strikes and you're out: Regardless of what was decided about the $92 million, St. Mary would no longer be eligible for federal aid, money that's a crucial part of the income of any private college.

Moreover, it was learned that, without the ATDS cash coming in, the college was facing a loss of $970,000 for 1992. With that, says Mike Eckles, the sisters' "eyes just rolled back in their heads and they said, 'Uh-uh.'" Sister Antoinette declared that St. Mary had no choice but to close, a decision she describes as excruciating. Her word was final.

McCarthy now runs the continuing-education and outreach programs at the University of Guam. Reached at his office there, he declined to comment on the record unless I agreed to meet with him in Guam for several days. He was, however, willing to say that he believed the college could have been saved if the administration had agreed to "fight it out."

The Department of Education (whose spokesman declined to comment for this story) has begun to reconsider student-aid eligibility guidelines. "Part of the problem with the federal financial-aid program is its flawed design," says Thrash of North Central. "The way it was designed invited abuse; it *invited* entrepreneurial types to devise a way to get funds for impoverished institutions." In short, Thrash concludes, "we created a monster."

And lost a college. Alan Montgomery, the reporter who covered the debacle for the *Hutchinson News*, thinks that much of the blame should lie not with McCarthy, the Sisters of St. Joseph, or ATDS, but with the Department of Education, which issued the loans only to revoke them. "St. Mary was offered up as a lamb," he says. Many Dodge City residents feel the same way—the whole fiasco had the lugubrious feel of one of those Jessica Lange or Sam Shepard movies in which the government writes lavish checks in times of plenty and forecloses in times of want.

"The Department of Education let 'em get away with murder," says one former St. Mary employee. But the Department of Education may have done the most damage after the closure, when it remained ominously silent about its plans for the St. Mary campus. The $92 million, you understand, was never paid off. Nothing was paid off. The department never collected a dime. Sister Antoinette received the impression that the feds were satisfied to see the institution shut its doors: "When we announced closure, we felt much less pressure from the Department of Education."

Still, there was no guarantee that Washington wouldn't reapply the pressure if the college ever got up and running again. For a while, such a thing did seem possible: Before St. Mary closed, discreet inquiries were made and a number of residents indicated their willingness to contribute toward the purchase of St. Mary, with the hope that it could be given a new incarnation while retaining the same faculty and administration. But the outstanding $92-million debt presented an insurmountable problem. "We did not know what the federal government was or wasn't going to do," says Lyle Butler, president of the Dodge City Chamber of Commerce and of the Dodge City/Ford County Development Corporation, a public–private partnership formed to guide the development of Dodge City. "People have asked us if we could give them clear title to the campus, and the answer has always been no." In fact, there was no guarantee that the feds wouldn't seize the building itself. "We all had visions that what would happen is that a ten-foot barbed-wire fence would go up around it, and it would sit there for years and years and years," says Butler. "Because if the government seized a campus of this size in the middle of the country, they probably wouldn't do anything with it forever."

To avoid that scenario, the city arranged to lease the campus from the Sisters of St. Joseph. The lease was free, though upkeep runs Dodge City taxpayers around $200,000 per year. At the very least, city officials figured, the public school system might be able to use the buildings to ease overcrowding.

The town did benefit from the closing of St. Mary in one curious way. When the college folded, it left about $1.4 million in restricted scholarship endowments, much of this the result of bequests from local families who discovered, to their dismay, that their gifts did not revert back to them on the college's demise. At one rather ugly trustees meeting, the Sisters of St. Joseph and city officials fought over

"We all had visions . . . that a ten-foot barbed wire fence would go up around St. Mary, and it would sit there for years," says Lyle Butler.

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the funds. Voices were raised. Loyalties were questioned. Ultimately the proceeds were split. The city's half went to create a scholarship fund for Dodge City residents to attend other colleges.

For a few months last year, Dodge City thought all was saved. Last summer, the city caught the eye of Herbert Richardson, a educational entrepreneur who had journeyed to that part of the state to visit his father's grave. The campus struck Richardson as the perfect place to found a college, and he proposed to launch a University of Western Kansas, a visionary outfit that would offer undergrad and graduate degrees and even give credit based on "life experience." The special task force that had formed to deal with St. Mary permitted Richardson to hold an introductory meeting at St. Mary. Some three dozen people showed up to enroll, and more came simply looking for information.

But according to local reporter Sue Sprenkle, things never quite crystallized the way people thought they would, and enthusiasm faded. Around the same time, Richardson began getting bad press. Articles appeared in *The Globe and Mail* in Toronto and in *Lingua Franca* that raised questions about Richardson's academic-publishing company, the Mellen Press, and a university he had recently founded in the Turks and Caicos. (Richardson has sued *Lingua Franca* about its article, and the case is currently in litigation.) Eventually, Richardson went away.

But the idea of founding a new college persists. A bunch of townsfolk, their appetites whetted, continue to meet weekly to explore other ways to bring education back to Dodge City. Christine Powell, a fundamentalist Christian with a powerful—some might say understandable—distrust of the federal government, has established ties with some unnamed "Christian venture capitalists" and is exploring the promise of long-distance learning, all with the hope of finding a way to keep young people on the farm. Others would like to steer clear of religious affiliations—at least extremist ones. Mike Eckles is one of these. Explaining why the city decided not to advertise the campus in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, he observes, "There's this worry—and this has happened to other vacant college campuses—that the Reverend Moon or some other cult might come in and buy your campus. Oh, dear God. And then you've got Hari Krishnas running around out there."

One Sunday morning in January, almost two years after the closing was announced, I had a cup of coffee with Mike Westerhaus at the McDonald's in Pratt, a farm community halfway between Dodge City and Wichita. A soft-spoken man with glasses and a tidy comb-over, he was offered a job teaching biology at the two-year community college in Pratt right after St. Mary closed. So he sold his house, uprooted his family, and considered himself lucky. (Colleagues had been forced to cash in their pensions and live off that money while searching for new positions.) In many ways, he has found, Pratt is a nicer place to live. The local family farmers respect education, and there's none of the violence of Dodge City.

Asked whether he and his colleagues were a civilizing influence on the town, Westerhaus politely scoffs. Meat packers didn't give a damn that they had a college in their midst, he says, nor did Dodge City doctors and lawyers. "I never saw an indication in eight years that the chamber of commerce ever recognized whether St. Mary taught today or didn't teach today," he says quietly. "A lot of people wouldn't even give verbal support to St. Mary. They wouldn't really even acknowledge that it's a good thing, that it's providing something different to this community that Garden City doesn't have, or that Liberal doesn't have. Three fourths of people in Dodge City—they wouldn't even give you that much if you bought 'em a cup of coffee."

Talking to him, however, made it clear that Dodge City has lost a great deal simply by losing a person like Mike Westerhaus. It's a small thing, to be sure, but consider that Westerhaus and his wife deliberately purchased a house in a marginally middle-class section of Dodge City that formed a bridge between the fine homes of the burgher class and the snarky section where the meat-packers lived. They did this, in part, to give their children exposure to different walks of life. At the same time, they gave their work-

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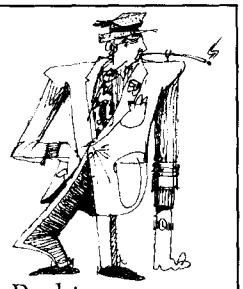

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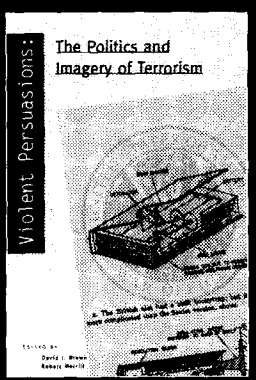

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HIGH PLAINS DRIFTER

ing-class neighbors exposure to a college professor, to the fact that such things as college professors, and by extension colleges, exist. With the disappearance of its permanent resident faculty, the city also lost the peculiar synergy that arises when a group of academics band together for succor, which is pretty much what happened in this case. Then there were the tiny ways faculty members contributed to the community—many of them volunteered at the local public radio station, for example, writing questions for the weekly trivia competition it broadcast on Saturday nights. People from remote towns like Cimarron and Pierceville could tune in, form teams, call up, compete. "You'd be surprised at some of the people who end up in these little towns with good educations," says Westerhaus.

Meanwhile, Dodge City is beginning to tire of paying upkeep on the 100-acre St. Mary campus, where signs of disuse are beginning to appear. The chapel has been pillaged by other churches—the pews have been removed, the marble altar hoisted out, and the famous wheat-field mural stripped from the wall. The library has been sold to Dodge City. The Milburn Stone Theater has been closed, its little display of *Gunsmoke* artifacts removed. Two of the wind generators have been sold; the third is still spinning in the wind, awaiting a buyer.

Mike Eckles has begun to mull over other uses for the campus—a fire academy, a job training center. But he suspects that before long, the city will simply sell the campus to a developer. Americans are still eating meat, and Dodge City is growing—1,000 jobs were added last year, most of them in the meat-packing industry. "I expect that all of this will be houses in the not-too-distant future," Eckles tells me during a tour of the campus in January, when the wheat begins to form a dainty green layer over the surrounding fields. Southwestern Kansas is surprisingly beautiful, displaying seemingly endless gradations of flatness and a seemingly endless variety of shades of brown and green. As we sit on the campus with the motor running, a skinny tortoiseshell cat trots across the stoop of one former dormitory, which is temporarily being used as an alcohol-and-drug-treatment facility.

The American Truck Driving School, incidentally, is still open, though when Alan Montgomery of the *News* interviewed its president, Dick Crane, in 1992, it had shrunk considerably. In that interview, Crane expressed much the same sentiment as McCarthy: If the college had stuck with him and fought the feds, it could have been saved. Crane also admitted that during some of the years that St. Mary was experiencing its troubles, his annual salary had remained in the $1 million range. "Yeah, I made some money," he said to Montgomery. "But aren't you supposed to?"

Liza Mundy is the managing editor of the Washington Post Magazine.

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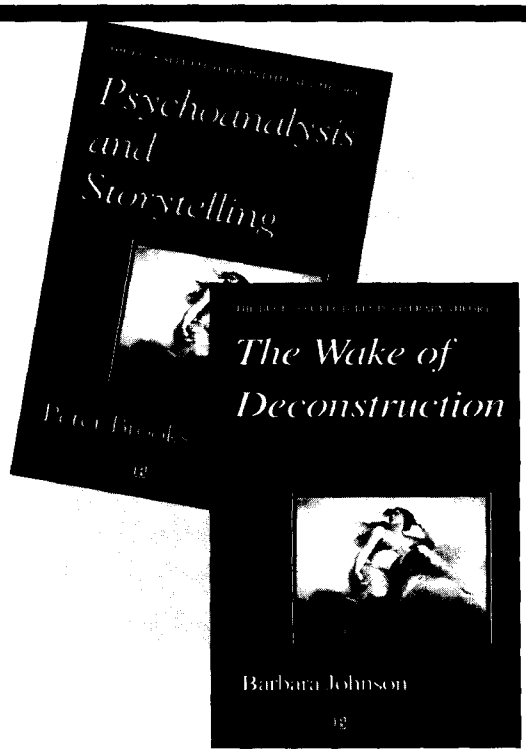

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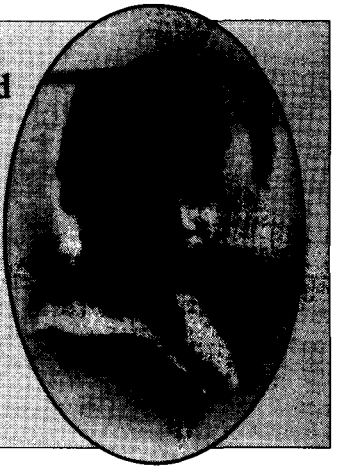

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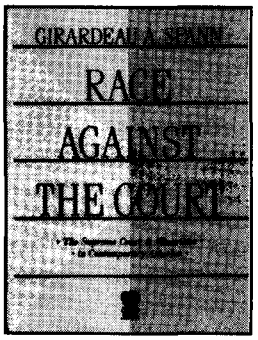

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Letters to the *Editor*

Continued from page 5

tions. Maybe we should start hiring adjunct administrators to see how they like it.

David Galef
Assistant Professor of English, University of Mississippi

In "Temps Perdus," Patricia Kean identifies many of the problems faced by part-timers, though she may well underestimate the depth of the problem and of full-time-faculty resistance. My own experience indicates that full-time faculty respond with indifference and later with hostility (i.e., dismissals) to part-timers' demands. Appealing to the moral sense of faculty is about as effective as asking Rush Limbaugh to engage in a reasoned discussion.

On another point, however, Kean misses the mark. She attributes some of the problems of part-timers to their unrealistic expectations (primarily M.A.'s). This is a neo-conservative argument: Too many demands are made on an overburdened system—we must learn to lower our expectations.

What this line of argument fails to consider is the larger social context. While Kean mentions the fact that the system has been downsized and that the long-promised retirement of faculty has led not to openings but to retrenchment, she falls short of asking any hard questions about the sources of this retrenchment. For the past twenty years the corporate economy has been stagnant. However, our collective response to this has been not to reconsider how the economy works but to give in to a corporate agenda that has pillaged public spending and the public good for a private agenda. This new agenda has also led to a gigantic waste of talent and energy. Many of us are becoming surplus to a reduced domestic economy, and as surplus we are simply ignored. Mass education, the goal of post–World War II educational expansion, is no longer profitable or desirable. When up to a quarter of us work part-time and many full-time jobs don't raise workers above the poverty level, education becomes a luxury good. It may have a use in training a technical class, but pursuit of traditional humanistic aims will be reserved for a few. All this while corporate profits soar and the gap between the richest and the rest of us steadily increases.

Who made these decisions? Certainly they were not the result of a democratic debate about the nature of education as a public good. Rather the political agenda has been restricted by a balanced-budget conservatism. It limits public spending without much regard for the source of the problem or what the consequences will be. This, however, indicates not that "we" have inflated expectations but that the public agenda has defined many as surplus wares.

Brian Caterino, *Rochester, NY*

I am a chunk of that wretched refuse pushed from the teeming shore of university life not very long after completion of the Ph.D., and thus an interested reader of Patricia Kean's keen piece "Temps Perdus." Kean's appeal to enlightened self-interest is clever, if a touch optimistic. There seems even less cause for optimism if one considers her analysis of the growing, dead-end half of the academic labor market against its larger backdrop. Larger backdrop means the demographic consequences of the way universities justify their existence: by demonstrating productivity measures in exchange for funding. Disciplines justify their share of funding by producing FTEs: The more majors, and the more graduate students, the more relatively legitimate the discipline. Unfortunately, despite our best efforts as teachers, students have this annoying tendency to take degrees, and to expect some payoff to boot.

The need to appear productive, and to compete with other departments for students, creates an enlarged pipeline that ends in the scene familiar to all search committees: a pileup of hundreds of Ph.D. holders for each available academic job. The contemporary university is a machine for producing a surplus population of Ph.D. holders. Who could design a better?

Michael A. Cavanaugh, *Los Angeles, CA*

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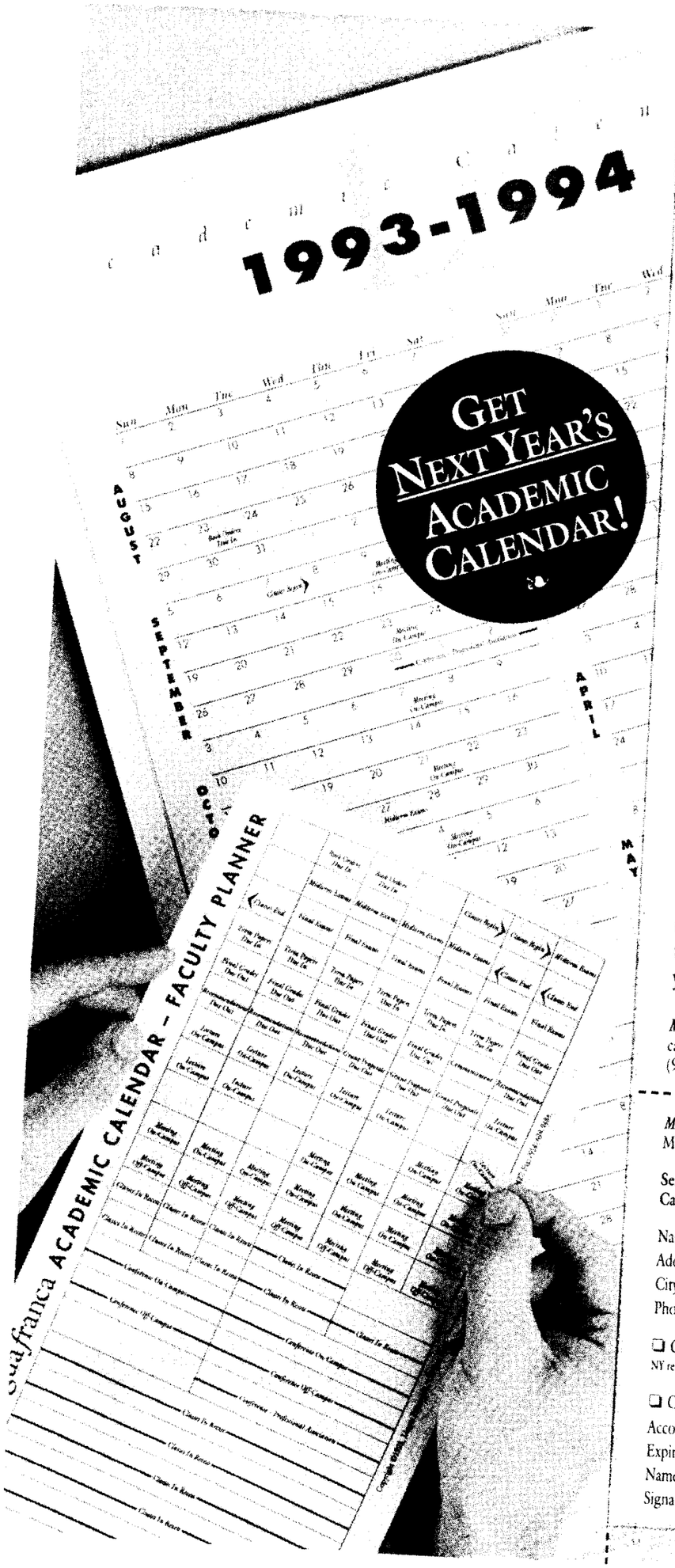

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The tables should be read as follows: the institution in the third column hired for the first time the individual in the second column to a full-time junior position. (It may not be the first junior position the individual has gotten.) The individual received graduate training at the institution in the first column.

Information about graduate training was obtained either from the hiring institution or from the individual. This information has not been double-checked with each training institution. **"N/A"** means this information was not available at press time.

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['94] means this action will take effect as of the '94-'95 academic term. **[NTG]** means this hiring institution is partially or completely non-tenure-granting.

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Bowling Green S	Prescott, Renate	Kent S U
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Brown U	Sonenberg, Maya	Washington, U of
Brown U	Teal, Laurie Jane	Bates C
Brown U	Whitlow, Carolyn	Guilford C
Cal Inst Arts	Hasan, Shirff	Tuskegee U
Calvin C	Forbes, Cheryl	Hobart/WmSmth
Carnegie Mellon	Cochran, Cynthia	Skidmore C
Carnegie Mellon	Hill, Charles	Wiscnsn, Oshk
Carnegie Mellon	Nelson, Jennie	Idaho, U of
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Chicago, U of	Miller, Mark	Yale U
Chicago, U of	Morillo, John	N Carolina S U
Chicago, U of	Post-Laurie, Shiela	Mass, Boston
Chicago, U of	Teres, Harvey	Syracuse U
Chicago, U of	Wilson, Hugh	Texas Tech
Cincinnati, U of	Bodo, Murray	Thomas More C
Cincinnati, U of	Oswal, Sushil	Mdl Tennessee
Claremont Grad	Swartz, Patti	GeorgiaSouthern
Cntrl Michigan	Graft, Lynn	Saginaw Valley S
Cntrl Michigan	Sawyers, Ruth	Saginaw Valley S
Colorado, U of	Heydt-Stevenson, Jillian	Texas, SanAnton
Colorado, U of	Martin, Roberta	E Carolina U
Columbia U	Buzard, James	Fordham U
Columbia U	Chinitz, David	Loyola, Chicago
Columbia U	Jemie, Onwuchekwa	CUNY, StatIsl
Columbia U	Knox, Melissa	St Peter's C
Columbia U	Kowaleski-Wallace, Elizabeth	Boston C
Columbia U	McGrath, Campbell	Florida Int'l U
Columbia U	Noble, Marianne Kingsland	American U
Columbia U	Sayers, Valerie L.	Notre Dame, U of
Columbia U	Skantze, P. A.	Michigan, AnAr
Columbia U	Wollman, Richard	Simmons C
Connecticut, Uof	Doyle-Francis, Christine	Cntrl Connecticut
Connecticut, Uof	Guo, Jian	Wiscnsn, Whitew
Cornell U	Ansay, Manette	Vanderbilt U
Cornell U	Beard, Linda Susan	Bryn Mawr C
Cornell U	Gambera, Disa	Carleton C
Cornell U	Johnson, David	Florida S U
Cornell U	Mandell, Laura	Miami U, Oxford
Cornell U	Sawaya, Francesca	Illinois S U
Cornell U	Stillinger, Thomas	Utah, U of
Cornell U	Sudan, Rajani	Middlebury C
Cornell U	Tanke, John	Michigan, AnAr
Cornell U	Wickham-Crowley, Kelley	Georgetown U
Cornell U	Wilson, Michael	Wiscnsn, Milw
CUNY	Liepe-Levinson, Katherine	Colgate U
CUNY	McCann, Sean	Wesleyan U
CUNY, Brooklyn	Coffey, Marilyn	Fort Hays S U
CUNY, Brooklyn	Mazza, Christina	Illinois, Chicago
CUNY, Brooklyn	Siegel, Robert	Cntrl Connecticut
CUNY, GradCntr	Stryck, Lydia D.	Virginia Cmnwlth
Delaware, U of	Fields, Darin	Wilkes C
DePaul U	Buckvold, John	DePaul U
Duke U	Chay, Deborah	Dartmouth C
Duke U	Chism, Christine	Allegheny C
Duke U	Delgado, Celeste	Penn S U
Duke U	Dickson, Richard	Lafayette C
Duke U	Hammill, Graham	N Carolina S U
Duke U	McEathron, Scott	S Illinois, Crbndl
Duke U	Orr, John	Portland, U of
Duke U	Setzer, Sharon	N Carolina S U
Duke U	Stanbory, Sarah	Holy Cross, C of
Duke U	Whalen, Terence	Illinois, Chicago
Emory U	Bartolovich, Crystal	Carnegie Mellon
Emory U	Gillespie, Carmen R.	Virginia Cmnwlth
Emory U	Kelley, Gregory	Lamar U
Emory U	Price, David	Keene S C
Emporia S U	Stalker, Timothy	Emporia S U
Florida S U	Crawn, Claudia	Florida S U
Florida, U of	Kelly, William	Eckerd C
George Mason U	Hansbarger, Julian C.	American U
Goddard C	McCarriston, Linda	G. Washington U
Harvard U	Beach, Christopher	Montana, U of
Harvard U	Bentley, Nancy	Penn, U of
Harvard U	Cannon, C.	UC, Los Angeles
Harvard U	Dever, Carolyn	New York U
Harvard U	Duffy, Andrew Enda	UC, St Barbara
Harvard U	Falkenstein, Linda	Wilkes C
Harvard U	Fowler, Elizabeth	Yale U
Harvard U	Hufstader, Jonathan	Connecticut, Uof
Harvard U	Jacobs, Kathryn	E Texas S U
Harvard U	Johnstone, Robert	N Carolina, ChpH
Harvard U	Lobanov-Rostovsky, Sergei	Kenyon C
Harvard U	Lopez, Dibbie Lynn	Texas, SanAnton
Harvard U	Patel, Cyrus	New York U
Harvard U	Rodriguez, Barbara	Holy Cross, C of
Harvard U	Rosen, J.	UC, Los Angeles
Harvard U	Young, Elizabeth	Mt Holyoke C
Harvard U	Zhang, Aiping	Cal S, Chico
Houston, U of	Cobb, William	N Texas, U of
Houston, U of	Larson, Lance	Brighm Yng U
Houston, U of	Lewis, Lisa	Wooster, C of
Houston, U of	Moran, Virginia A.K.	Fisk U
Houston, U of	Wade, Sydney E.	Florida, Gnsvl
Howard U	Mitchell, Angelyn	Hood C
Illinois, Chicago	Stoll, Patricia	Lakeland C
Illinois, Chicago	Williams, David	Knox C
Illinois S U	Tarr, Anita	Illinois S U
Illinois, U of	Cupp, Jeffrey	Charlstn, U of [NTG]
Illinois, U of	Deckert, Glenn	E Michigan U
Illinois, Urbana	Bhatt, Rakesh	Tennessee, Knox
Illinois, Urbana	Ericksen, Janet	Vanderbilt U
Illinois, Urbana	Hadorn, Peter	Virginia Cmnwlth
Illinois, Urbana	Hanley, Larry	CUNY, City C
Illinois, Urbana	Kahn, Jacque	Iowa S U
Illinois, Urbana	Karle, Kathy	N Georgia C
Illinois, Urbana	LaPrade, Douglas	Pan American U
Illinois, Urbana	Thomas, Mark	Maryville TN
Indiana U	Keeling, Kara	ChrstphrNewport
Indiana U	Sponsler, Claire	Iowa, U of
Iowa, U of	Adams, Alice	Miami U, Oxford
Iowa, U of	Bartlett, Anne	DePaul U
Iowa, U of	DeRose, Michelle	Calvin C
Johns Hopkins U	Lippit, Akira	Nebraska, Lncn
Kansas, U of	Goodson, Freelon	E Carolina U
Kansas, U of	Jordan, Rebecca	Emporia S U
Kansas, U of	York, James	Emporia S U
Kentucky, U of	Dahmane, Razak	Sangamon S U
Lehigh U	Dunne, Robert	Cntrl Connecticut
Louisiana S U	Bass, Margaret	St Lawrence U
Louisiana S U	Suarez, Virgil	Florida S U
Louisville, U of	Nichols, M. Celeste	Bellarmine C
Loyola, Chicago	Fitzgibbons, Fr. John	Marquette U
Mass, Amherst	Green, Lisa	Northeastern U
Mass, Boston	Gibson, John	S Indiana, U of
Mass, U of	Alm, Deborah	Springfield C
Mass, U of	Hurley-Valentine, M.	Fisk U
Michigan S U	Cogdill, Sharon	St Cloud S U
Michigan S U	Grayson, Deborah	Rochester, U of
Michigan, U of	Behdad, A.	UC, Los Angeles
Michigan, U of	Favor, Martin	Dartmouth C
Michigan, U of	Geis, Deborah	Tennessee, Knox
Michigan, U of	Harrington, Susan	IndianaPurdu,Ind
Michigan, U of	McClure, Michael	Oglethorpe U
Michigan, U of	Radecki, Patricia	CUNY, City C
Michigan, U of	Raptosh, Diane	Idaho, C of
Minnesota, U of	Garrefa, S.J., Michael	Holy Cross, C of
Missouri, U of	Metzger, David	Old Dominion U
Missouri, U of	Pulliam, Gregory	Illinois Tech
Missouri, U of	Trout, Steven	Fort Hays S U
Montana, U of	Calcagno, Anne	DePaul U
N Carolina, Grns	Locklear, Dr. Glorianna	Winston-Salem
N Carolina, U of	Chambers, Dianne	Elmhurst C
N Dakota, U of	Albrightson, Gary	Tennessee, Knox
N Texas, U of	Hobbs, Michael B.	NW Missouri S
N/A	McLaughlin, Robert	Illinois S U
N/A	Sullivan, Kimberly	Clark C (WA)
Nebraska, Lncn	Jasnowski, Antoni	Bellevue [NTG]
Nebraska, U of	Binfield, Kevin	Gardner-Webb C
New York U	Douglas, Jane	CUNY, Lehman
New York U	O'Neill, Philip	Penn S U
Northeastern U	Espada, Martin	Mass, Amherst
Northwestern U	Gallagher, Bernice	Lake Forest C
Northwestern U	King, Thomas	Brandeis U
Ohio S U	Brewer, Gay	Mdl Tennessee
Ohio S U	De Los Santos, Oscar	W Connecticut W
Ohio S U	Fleming, Deborah	Ashland C
Ohio S U	Graves, Heather	Illinois S U
Ohio S U	McGinnis, Scott	Maryland, CollPk
Ohio S U	Porcheddu, Fred	Denison U
Ohio S U	Ratcliffe, Krista L.	Marquette U
Ohio S U	Riley, Matthew	American U
Ohio S U	Tennant, Colette	Kent S U
Ohio U	Bell, Betty Louise	Michigan, AnAr
Oklahoma S U	Patterson, Leslie	Texas Tech
Oregon, U of	Lee, Chang-rae	Oregon, U of
Penn S U	Agha, Shahid	Mass, Amherst
Penn S U	Nienkamp, Jean	Mass, Amherst
Penn S U	Sheard, Cynthia	Kentucky, U of
Penn, U of	Anderson, David	Louisville, U of
Penn, U of	Chandler, Karen	Louisville, U of
Penn, U of	Herman, David	N Carolina S U
Penn, U of	Hicks, James	Mass, Boston
Penn, U of	Lindeborg, Ruth	Ohio S U
Penn, U of	Magnotto, Joyce	Old Dominion U
Penn, U of	McGregory, Jerrilyn	Florida S U
Penn, U of	Pascoe, Judith	Iowa, U of
Penn, U of	Robinson, Amy	Georgetown U
Penn, U of	Schipke, Rae	Cntrl Connecticut
Penn, U of	Thomas, Max	Iowa, U of
Penn, U of	Young, Richard F.	Wiscnsn, Madsn
Pittsburgh, U of	Knippling, Alpana	Nebraska, Lncn
Pittsburgh, U of	Miller, Richard E.	Rutgers, NBruns
Pittsburgh, U of	Shaw, Margaret	Kent S U
Pittsburgh, U of	Shifrin, David	Allegheny C
Pittsburgh, U of	Vicente, Arie	E Texas S U
Princeton U	Hardy, Sarah	Middlebury C
Princeton U	Jackson, Virginia W.	Boston U
Princeton U	Kassanoff, Jennie	Colgate U
Princeton U	Mackie, Erin	Washington U
Purdue U	Elia, Nada	W Illinois U
Purdue U	Iyer, Nalini	Seattle U
Purdue U	Tovey, Janice	E Carolina U
Purdue U	Wang, Haixia	Wiscnsn, LaCro
Rice U	Muhlestein, Daniel	Brighm Yng U
Rochester, U of	Edgell, Zelma	Kent S U
Rochester, U of	Parkes, Adam	Georgia, U of
RPI	Haller, Cynthia	N Carolina S U
RPI	Lipscomb, Drema	Rochester, U of
Rutgers U	Melocarro, Lynne	Rochester, U of
Rutgers U	Richardson, Mark S.	W Michigan U
Rutgers U	Stec, Loretta	SanFrancisco S
S California, U of	Liu, Yameng	Carnegie Mellon
S Carolina, U of	Chrisler, Jesse	Brighm Yng U
S Carolina, U of	Rice, Nelljean	S Carolina, Cstl
S Carolina, U of	Ward, D. Scott	Eckerd C
S Florida, U of	Allison, Elizabeth	Corpus Christi
S Florida, U of	Starks, Lisa	E Texas S U
S Florida, U of	Wolfe, Tim	Mdl Tennessee
S Mississippi, U of	Sherman, Ted	Mdl Tennessee
Stanford U	Chasin, Alexandre	Boston C
Stanford U	Choi, Julie	Syracuse U
Stanford U	Heise, Ursula	Columbia U
Stanford U	McHenry, Elizabeth	US Naval Acad
Stanford U	Palmer, Trudy	Tufts U
Stanford U	Perez, Vincent	Texas A & M U
Stanford U	Salazar, Ines	Penn, U of
Stanford U	Saldana, Maria	UC, St Barbara
Stanford U	Zwicker, Heather	Alberta, U of,CAN
SUNY	Solomon, William	Stanford U
SUNY, Bngmtn	Jamieson, Sandra	Drew U
SUNY, Bngmtn	Mueller, Judith	Franklin&Marshall
SUNY, Bngmtn	Steinward, Jonathan	Concordia, Mrhd

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JOBTRACKS 1993–94

JUNIOR HIRINGS, BY DISCIPLINE AND BY GRADUATE TRAINING

TRAINED BY	NAME	HIRED BY
SUNY, Bngmtn	Weber, Elizabeth	Indianapolis, U of
SUNY, Buffalo	Pelton, Theodore	Lakeland C
SUNY, Buffalo	Sayre, Gordon M.	Oregon, U of
SUNY, Buffalo	Walton, Jean	RhodeIsland,Uof
SUNY, Stny Brk	Burton, Joan	Tennessee, Knox
SUNY, Stny Brk	Cataliotti, Robert	Coppin S C
SUNY, Stny Brk	Frost, Linda	Alabama, Brmng
SUNY, Stny Brk	Kranidis, Rita	Radford U
SUNY, Stny Brk	Looser, Devoney	Indiana S U
SUNY, Stny Brk	Perry, Patricia H.	Virginia Cmnwlth
Syracuse U	Bush, Mary	Cal S, LosAngls
Syracuse U	Haxton, Brooks	Syracuse U
Teachers C	Saad-Kherief, Zohra	CUNY, Hunter C
Temple U	Jennings, Regina	Franklin&Marshall
Tennessee, U of	Slagle, Judith	Mdl Tennessee
Texas, Austin	Burns, Richard	Arkansas S U
Texas, Austin	Duncan, Edwin	Towson S U
Texas, Austin	Harrrington, Dana	Illinois S U
Texas, Austin	Herndon, Gerise	Nebraska Wslyn
Texas, Austin	Levitan, William	Grand Valley S
Texas, Austin	Novakovich, Josip	Cincinnati, U of
Texas, Austin	Sharpe, J.	UC, Los Angeles
Texas, U of	Bose, Purnima	Indiana, Blmngtn
Texas, U of	Downs-Gamble, Margaret	Virginia Poly
Texas Christian	Bolin, William	E Texas S U
Texas Christian	Richter, Francine R.	Sul Ross S U
Texas Christian	Vandenberg, Peter	DePaul U
Texas Southern	McDavid, Tyiska	PrairieViewAM
Texas Tech	Blasingame, Susan	Lubbock Chrstn
Texas Tech	Bullock, James	Lubbock Chrstn
Toledo, U of	Chin, Woon-Ping	Swarthmore C
Tufts U	Seshadri-Crooks, Kalpana	SUNY, Oswego
Tulane U	Carroll, Shireen	Davidson C
UC	Campbell, Mike	Georgetown C
UC, Berkeley	Barnstone, Aliki	Bucknell U
UC, Berkeley	Cohen, William	Maryland, CollPk
UC, Berkeley	Fragd, Lula	Kentucky, U of
UC, Berkeley	Grudin, Michaela	Lewis & Clark C
UC, Berkeley	Gustafson, Sandra	Notre Dame, U of
UC, Berkeley	Jacobs, Karen	Colorado, Bldr
UC, Berkeley	Kaplan, M. Lindsay	Georgetown U
UC, Berkeley	Mahlis, Kristen	Transylvania U
UC, Berkeley	Moonwomon, Birch	Ohio S U
UC, Berkeley	O'Brien, Kevin	Chapman U
UC, Berkeley	Pawl, Amy	Davidson C
UC, Berkeley	Pioro, Tadeusz	S Methodist U
UC, Berkeley	Sullivan, Karen	Bard C
UC, Davis	Bloomfield, Josephine	Ohio U
UC, Irvine	Chaney, Joseph	Indiana, S Bend
UC, Irvine	Heywood, Leslie	SUNY, Bngmtn
UC, Los Angeles	Allred, Randal	Brighm Yng, HI
UC, Los Angeles	Amaya, Jose	Ohio S U
UC, Los Angeles	Blackmer, Corinne	S Connecticut
UC, Los Angeles	Burks, Ruth E.	Macalester C
UC, Los Angeles	Gordis, Lisa	Barnard C
UC, Los Angeles	Hayne, Victoria	Kenyon C
UC, Los Angeles	Ioppolo, Grace	Catholic U Amer
UC, Los Angeles	McManus, Caroline	Cal S, LosAngls
UC, Los Angeles	Round, Phillip	Iowa, U of
UC, Los Angeles	Sanborn, Jeffrey	Fairfield U
UC, Riverside	Mitchell, Kenneth	SE Louisiana U
UC, San Diego	Inness, Sherrie	Miami U, Oxford
UC, San Diego	Levy, Anita	Rochester, U of
UC, San Diego	Matchinske, Megan	N Carolina, ChpH
UC, St Barbara	Farrington, Gene	Notre Dame (MD)
UC, St Barbara	Miller, Shannon	Temple U
UC, St Cruz	Bow, Leslie	Brown U
UC, St Cruz	Gevirtz, Susan	Sonoma S U
UC, St Cruz	Smith, Victoria	Miami U, Oxford
Union Theolog	Schutjer, Patricia	Ashland C
Union Theolog	Warrior, Robert	Stanford U
Vanderbilt U	Ashe, Fredericd	Birmnghm Sthrn
Vanderbilt U	Meyer, Adam	Fisk U
Vanderbilt U	O'Sullivan, Gerard	Fordham U
Virginia, U of	Branch, Michael	Florida Int'l U
Virginia, U of	Manson, Michael Tomasek	American U
Virginia, U of	Nunn, Mary Anne	Cntrl Connecticut
Virginia, U of	Rody, Caroline M.	Yale U
Virginia, U of	Smith, Gail K.	Marquette U
W Michigan U	Pederson, Miriam	Aquinas C
Washington U	Harris-Williams, Ann	LincolnU, Jrsn
Washington, U of	Birnbaum, Michele	Oregon S U
Washington, U of	Evenson, Brian	Brighm Yng U
Washington, U of	Guajardo, Paul	Texas, SanAnton
Washington, U of	Reid, Robin D.	E Texas S U
Washington, U of	Richardson, Brian	Maryland, CollPk
Wayne S U	McGill, Anthony	Michigan, Flint
Wisconsn, Madsn	Preus, Nicholas	Ithaca C
Wisconsn, Madsn	Rhine, Marjorie	SE Louisiana U
Wisconsn, Madsn	Teye, Emmanuel	Wisconsn, Stout
Wisconsn, Madsn	Thomas, Calvin	N Iowa, U of
Wisconsn, U of	Gould, Philip	DePaul U
Wisconsn, U of	Schell, Eileen	Virginia Poly
Yale U	Adams, Edward	Washington&Lee
Yale U	Carrig, Maria	Loyola, Chicago
Yale U	Dorn, Judith	St Cloud S U
Yale U	Ferrara, Patricia	ChrstphrNewport
Yale U	Goodman, Kevis B.	Yale U
Yale U	Griffin, Farah	Penn, U of
Yale U	Gruesz, Kirsten	William & Mary
Yale U	Kranes, David	Florida Int'l U
Yale U	Leara, Jacques	Wisconsn, Madsn
Yale U	Lin, Tan	Virginia, U of
Yale U	Martin, Mary Patricia	Ohio S U
Yale U	Newbury, Michael	Middlebury C
Yale U	Pearsall, Cornelia	Smith C
Yale U	Williams, Wilburn	Colgate U
AUSR-Klagenfurt	Cullen, Thomas	E Michigan U
CAN-Alberta	Kadar, Marlene	York U,CAN
CAN-McGill U	Falkowska, Janina	W Ontario,CAN
CAN-Saskatch	Varadharajan, Asha	Minnsota,TwnC
CAN-Toronto	Alexander, Andrew	Wayne S C
CAN-Toronto	Eska, Joseph	Virginia Poly
CAN-Toronto	Gwara, Scott	SE Louisiana U
CAN-Toronto	Hawkins, Maureen	Lethbridge,CAN
CAN-W Ontario	Neill, Mary	W Ontario,CAN
GER-Heidelberg	Klingenstein, Susanne	MIT
UK-Bristol, U of	White, Paul	Purdue U
UK-Cambridge	Clingham, Gregory	Bucknell U
UK-Cambridge	Hofman, Michael	Florida, Gnsvl
UK-Cambridge	Sherman, William	Maryland, CollPk
UK-Liverpool	Lees, Clare	Penn, U of
UK-Oxford U	Dobson, Michael	Illinois, Chicago
UK-Warwick	Shuttleworth, Antony	Georgia, U of
UK-York, U of	Khanna, Ranjana	Utah, U of

FRENCH/ITALIAN

Auburn U	Eckert, Kathryn	Alabama, Brmng
Brown U	Overvold, Angelina	Virginia Cmnwlth
Brown U	Walecka, Anna	Kenyon C
Chicago, U of	Creuziger, Clementine	US Naval Acad
Columbia U	Barsoum, Marlene	CUNY, Hunter C
Cornell U	Blyth, Carl	Texas, Austin
Cornell U	Bouvier, Luke	UC, Irvine
Cornell U	Mensah, Patrick	Mass, Amherst
Cornell U	Richards, III, Marvin	John Carroll U
Cornell U	Sachs, Hilary	Columbia U
Cornell U	Vance, Barbara S.	Indiana, Blmngtn
Duke U	Hilliker, Lee	Eckerd C
Emory U	Elmarsafy, Ziad	Wellesley C
Emory U	Tlatli, Thoraya	Princeton U
Georgetown U	Garcia, Dulce	CUNY, City C
Harvard U	Lane, Brigitte	Swarthmore C
Illinois, U of	Kapanga, André	Illinois S U
Indiana, Blmngtn	Lynde, Molly	W Michigan U
Indiana U	Scullen, Mary Ellen	Louisville, U of
Johns Hopkins U	Schlossman, Beryl	Carnegie Mellon
Michigan S U	Peden, Genevieve	E Michigan U
Minnesota, U of	Davis, James	Arkansas, Ftvl
Minnesota, U of	Denis, Francoise E.	Macalester C
Minnesota, U of	Sauret, Martine	W Michigan U
N Carolina, ChpH	Ledgerwood, Mikle	SUNY, Stny Brk
N Carolina, ChpH	Linchet, Dominique	Alabama, Brmng
New York U	Ireland, John	Illinois, Chicago
New York U	Poisson, Catherine	Wesleyan U
Northwestern U	Trouille, Mary	Illinois S U
Oregon, U of	Zaczek, Barbara	Clemson U
Penn S U	Pichot, Michel	Andrews U
Penn, U of	Hart, Kathleen	Vassar C
Penn, U of	Jewiss, Virginia	Dartmouth C
Penn, U of	Kehres, Jean-Marc	Oklahoma, U of
Penn, U of	Krause, Kathy M.	Clemson U
Penn, U of	LaGuardia, David	Dartmouth C
Penn, U of	Leamon, Amanda	Union C (NY)
Princeton U	Ansart, Guillaume	New Mexico, Uof
Princeton U	Perry, Catherine A.	Notre Dame, U of
Rice U	Craven, Patrick	Furman U
Rice U	Nell, Sharon	Texas Tech
Rutgers U	Hurley, Anthony	SUNY, Stny Brk
S California, U of	Gros, Isabelle	Grand Valley S
S California, U of	Weltman-Aron, Brigitte	Georgia, U of
Stanford U	Wright, Michelle R.	Bennington[NTG]
UC, Berkeley	Merceron, Jacques Emile	Indiana, Blmngtn
UC, Davis	Bontea, Adriana	SUNY, Buffalo
UC, Davis	Fleck, Stephen	Cal S, LngBch
UC, Los Angeles	Ferlito, Susanna	Minnsota,TwnC
UC, Los Angeles	Wiesmann, Marc-Andre	Skidmore C
UC, St Barbara	Cosse, Jean-Michel	Seton Hall U
UC, St Barbara	Walsh, Jonathan David	Bates C
Vanderbilt U	Rwankika, Mwisha	Drake U
Virginia, U of	Ganim, Russell	Nebraska, Lncn
Virginia, U of	Krumm, Pascale	Montana, U of
Washington, U of	Leger, Thierry	Marquette U
Wisconsn, Madsn	Woodward, Servanne	W Ontario,CAN
Wisconsn, U of	Toumi, Allaoua	Middlebury C
Yale U	bi Balo, Irie	Mass, Amherst
Yale U	Maleuvre, Didier	UC, St Barbara
Yale U	McCracken, Peggy	Illinois, Chicago
Yale U	Swenson, Jr., James B.	Rutgers, NBruns
Yale U	Tarnowski, Andrea	Dartmouth C
CAN-Dalhousie	Mitchell, Patricia	Dalhousie U,CAN
CAN-Manitoba	Steele, Leighton	Mt St Vincent ,CAN
FRN-Lyon, U of	Albert-Galtier, Alexandre	Mt Holyoke C
FRN-Paris, U of	Bourque, Jacques	St Francis Xavier,CAN
FRN-Paris, U of	Dehab, Elizabeth	Cal S, LosAngls
FRN-Paris, U of	Ribard, Dinah	Smith C
FRN-Rennes II	Blin-Daniel, Danielle	Gettysburg C
FRN-Toulouse	Costaglioli, Phillippe	St Cloud S U

GEOGRAPHY

Arizona S U	Clark, Sandra	Bridgewater S
Arkansas, Ftvl	Vann, Barry	Delta S U
Chicago, U of	Gritzner, Jeffrey	Montana, U of
Chicago, U of	Papadopoulos, Alex	DePaul U
Clark U	Carlin, Scott	LIU, SHampton
Colorado, Bldr	Berry, Kate	Nevada, Reno
CUNY	Xiaa, Zong-Guo	Mass, Boston
G Washington U	Cribb, Warner	Mdl Tennessee
Georgia, U of	Bagchi-Sen, Sharmistha	SUNY, Buffalo
Georgia, U of	Cowell, Mark	Indiana S U
Georgia, U of	Knapp, Paul A.	Georgia S U
Georgia, U of	Konrad, Joseph	N Carolina, ChpH
Georgia, U of	Soulé, Peter	Appalachian S
Georgia, U of	Torguson, Jeffrey	Wisconsn, Oshk
Georgia, U of	Williams, Kay	Shippensburg
Hawaii, U of	Chu, Gregory	Wisconsn, LaCro
Indiana U	Ellis, J.M.	UC, Los Angeles
Kansas, U of	Campbell, Craig	Youngstown S
Kansas, U of	Demers, Michael	New Mexico S U
Kentucky, U of	Falconer, Karen	Nebraska, Oma
Louisiana S U	Herlihy, Peter	Kansas, U of
Maryland, U of	Auer, Carol	Connecticut, Uof
Michigan S U	Rader, Charles	Wisconsn, RiverF
Michigan, U of	Cutrim, Elen M.C.	W Michigan U
Minnesota, U of	Beach, Timothy	Georgetown U
Minnesota, U of	Hamilton, Jamet Drake	G. Washington U
Minnesota, U of	Hammel, Daniel	Illinois S U
Minnesota, U of	Liu, Jian-Yi	Montana S U
Minnesota, U of	Palmquist, Bruce	Cntrl Washngtn
Minnesota, U of	Tomaselli, Linda	Wisconsn, RiverF
Minnesota, U of	Young, James	Appalachian S
N/A	McMaster, Susanna	Macalester C
N/A	Usery, E. Lynn	Georgia, U of

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JUNIOR HIRINGS, BY DISCIPLINE AND BY GRADUATE TRAINING

TRAINED BY	NAME	HIRED BY
Ohio S U	Kambitsi, Elena	Utah, U of
Oregon S U	Root, Ann	Cntrl Washngtn
Oregon, U of	Friedel, Dorothy	Missouri, Kans
Penn S U	Wessels-Bayer, Anke	Syracuse U
Penn, U of	Markowitz, Diane	Rowan C
S California, U of	Chakravorty, Sanjoy	Temple U
S Carolina, U of	Echavarria, Fernando	Nebraska, Lncn
Syracuse U	Li, Bin	Miami, U of
Tennessee, U of	Gow, Qian	N Michigan U
UC	Narumalani, Sunil	Nebraska, Lncn
UC, Berkeley	Mensing, Scott	Nevada, Reno
UC, Berkeley	Schroeder, Richard A.	Rutgers, NBruns
UC, Los Angeles	Pulido, Laura	S California, U of
UC, Los Angeles	Withers, Suzanne Davies	Georgia, U of
UC, St Barbara	Foresman, Timothy	Maryland, Cmsvl
Utah, U of	Lillquist, Karl	Drake U
Wisconsn, Milw	Thaller, Michal L.	Kent S U
Wisconsn, U of	Herb, Guntram	Middlebury C
Wisconsn, U of	Wolf, Bart J.	Valparaiso U
CAN-Manitoba	Alwin, John	Cntrl Washngtn

GEOLOGY

Arizona, U of	Asmerom, Yemane	New Mexico, Uof
Cornell U	Whitman, Dean	Florida Int'l U
Harvard U	Stein, Carol	Washington, U of
Michigan, U of	Koch, Paul	Princeton U
Nevada, Reno	Amin, Isam	Cal S, LngBch
New Mexico, Uof	Meyer, Grant	Middlebury C
Penn S U	Gross, Michael	Florida Int'l U
Princeton U	Famiglietti, James S.	Texas, Austin
Stanford U	Hannula, Kimberly	Middlebury C
Stanford U	McTigue, David F.	Washington, U of
Stanford U	Tarduno, John	Rochester, U of
Texas A & M U	Stearns, Steven	Charlston, C of
UC	Murray, Kent	Michigan, Drbrn
UC, Berkeley	Lowenhurz-Lawrence, D.	Illinois, Chicago
UC, Davis	Beiersdorfer, Raymond	Youngstown S
UC, St Cruz	Rigsby, Cathy	E Carolina U
Virginia Poly	Chermak, John A.	Georgia S U
Virginia Poly	Kirby, Carl	Bucknell U
Virginia, U of	Wicks, Carol M.	Missouri, Clmb
Wyoming, U of	Finley, James	Miami U, Oxford
CAN-Waterloo	Logan, William S.	G. Washington U

GERMAN

Chicago, U of	Jeep, John	Miami U, Oxford
Chicago, U of	Smith, Brittain	Boston U
Colorado, U of	Phillips, Timothy	Colorado, Denv
Columbia U	Pan, David	Washington U
Connecticut, Uof	Nemoto, Naoko	SUNY, Bngmtn
Cornell U	Davidson, John	Ohio S U
Cornell U	Gerstenberger, Katharina	Cincinnati, U of
Frostburg S U	Sorsby, Karen	Cal S, Chico
Harvard U	MacLeod, Catriona	Yale U
Illinois, U of	Olson, Audie	Wisconsn, LaCro
Johns Hopkins U	Ostmeier, Dorothee	Washington, U of
Louisville, U of	Bosley, Gabriele	Bellarmine C
Maryland, U of	Mast, Thomas	American U
Mass, Amherst	Kord, Susanne T.	Georgetown U
Michigan S U	Gramberg, Anne-Katrin	Auburn U
Michigan, U of	Bloomer, Robert	SUNY, Stny Brk
Minnesota, U of	Grotans, Anna	Ohio S U
Minnesota, U of	Plonien, Klaus	Concordia, Mrhd
N Carolina, ChpH	Graf, Roman	Middlebury C
Nebraska, Lncn	Fuess, Jo Ann	Nebraska Wslyn
New York U	Petersen, Vibeke	Drake U
Ohio S U	Limburg, David	Guilford C
Penn, U of	Führich, Angelika	Iowa, U of
Penn, U of	Hess, Jonathan	N Carolina, ChpH
Penn, U of	Kirchner, Doris	RhodeIsland,Uof
Portland S U	Hammel-Ingram, Gudrun	Linfield C
Rutgers U	Maass, Sabine	N Carolina, Wlm
Stanford U	Mueller, Magda	Cal S, Chico
Stanford U	Saltzman-Li, Kate	UC, St Barbara
SUNY, Albany	Weigel, Robert	Auburn U
Texas, Austin	Beck, Maria-Luise	N Texas, U of
UC, Berkeley	Baackman, Susanne	New Mexico, Uof
UC, Berkeley	Hasty, Willard R.	Florida, Gnsvl
UC, Irvine	Henke, Burkhard	Davidson C
Virginia, U of	Lungstrum, Janet	Colorado, Bldr
Washington U	Gruettner, Mark	Centenary C (LA)
Washington U	Wisely, Andrew	Anderson U
Washington, U of	Herrmann, Karin	Arkansas, Ftvl
Washington, U of	Meyer-Porter, Imke	Illinois, Chicago
Washington, U of	Ramos, Lillian	Winona S U
Wisconsn, Madsn	Gilbert, Michael	S Carolina, Cstl
Wisconsn, Madsn	Harnisch, Antje	Wooster, C of
Wisconsn, U of	Brockman, Stephen	Carnegie Mellon
Wisconsn, U of	Risholm, Ellen M.	Duke U
Wisconsn, U of	Weidauer, Friedemann	RPI
Yale U	Nolden, Thomas	Wellesley C
CAN-Queen's U	Boehringer, Michael	S Carolina, Spar
CAN-Toronto	Voss, Thomas	Acadia U,CAN
GER-Bavarian S	McMahon, Brigit	American U
GER-Kassel	Hufeisen, Britta	Alberta, U of,CAN

HISTORY

Arizona, U of	Garcia, Ignacio	Corpus Christi
Arizona, U of	Gow, Andrew	Alberta, U of,CAN
Baylor U	Hoskins, Deborah	Missouri, Kans
Boston C	Fortunato-DeLisle, Lucille	Bridgewater S
Boston C	Knott, Stephen	Quinnipiac C
Boston C	Thomas, Mary	E Oregon S C
Boston U	Penvenne, Jeanne	Tufts U
Boston U	Porter-Benson, Susan	Connecticut, Uof
Brown U	Frank, Stephen	UC, Los Angeles
Brown U	Hart, William	Middlebury C
Brown U	Newman, Louis M.	Florida, Gnsvl
Brown U	Rose, Tricia	New York U
Carnegie Mellon	Peffer, G. Anthony	Lakeland C
Chicago, U of	Burns, Susan	Texas, Austin
Chicago, U of	Coetzee, Frans	Denison U
Chicago, U of	Connolly, James	Portland, U of
Chicago, U of	Em, Henry	Lake Forest C
Chicago, U of	Guardino, Peter Francis	Indiana, Blmngtn
Chicago, U of	Holden, Robert	Old Dominion U
Chicago, U of	Igarashi, Yoshikuni	Vanderbilt U
Chicago, U of	Lal, Vinay	UC, Los Angeles
Chicago, U of	Schaefer, Charles G. H.	Valparaiso U
Chicago, U of	Schultz, Warren	DePaul U
Chicago, U of	Shields, Sarah	N Carolina, ChpH
Chicago, U of	Sun, Youli	S Illinois, Crbndl
Chicago, U of	Zhang, Xin	IndianaPurdu,Ind
Cincinnati, U of	Mixon, Gregory	Rutgers, NBruns
Claremont Grad	Longmore, Paul	SanFrancisco S
Claremont Grad	Vasquez, Francisco	Sonoma S U
Clark U	Kolesar, Robert	John Carroll U
Columbia U	Beyani, Choolwe	CUNY, StatIsl
Columbia U	Byfield, Judith	Dartmouth C
Columbia U	Coundouriotis, Eleni	Connecticut, Uof
Columbia U	Hacohen, Malachi	Duke U
Columbia U	Judge, Joan	Utah, U of
Columbia U	Lovett, Margot	Drake U
Columbia U	Radford, Gail	SUNY, Buffalo
Columbia U	Saxton, Martha	Columbia U
Columbia U	Sivan, Hagith	Kansas, U of
Columbia U	Stebenne, David	Ohio S U
Columbia U	Tsunoda, Elizabeth	Washington U
Columbia U	Xu, David	Francis Marion U
Columbia U	Young, Louise	Georgetown U
Cornell U	Bradley, Owen	Tennessee, Knox
Cornell U	Chen, Yong	UC, Irvine
Cornell U	Hipsher, Patricia	Quinnipiac C
Cornell U	Rondeau, Jennifer	Oregon, U of
Cornell U	Sasaki-Uemura, Wesley	Utah, U of
Cornell U	Siekmeier, James	Luther C
Cornell U	Winship, Michael	Georgia, U of
CUNY	Rabin, Sheila	St Peter's C
Delaware, U of	Grettler, David	Northern S C
Duke U	Farnsworth-Alvear, Ann	Penn, U of
Duke U	Higham, Carol	Winona S U
Emory U	Kluge, Andrea	Simon Fraser,CAN
Emory U	Schwalb, Carlos	Richmond, U of
Florida, U of	McWatters, David	Mdl Tennessee
Fordham U	Pepin, Paulette	Cntrl Connecticut
Georgetown U	Fay, Mary Ann	Gettysburg C
Georgetown U	Lowe, Benno	Florida Atlantic
Georgetown U	Miller, Karen	Oakland U
Georgetown U	Zook, Melinda	Purdue U
Georgia, U of	Bryant, Jonathan	Baltimore, U of
Harvard U	Baerstein, P. Renée	Miami U, Oxford
Harvard U	Bitel, Lisa	Kansas, U of
Harvard U	Burns, Katherine J.	Florida, Gnsvl
Harvard U	Humphreys, Margaret	Duke U
Harvard U	Matsusaka, Yoshihisa	Wellesley C
Harvard U	Park, Nancy E.	Vassar C
Harvard U	Pasley, Jeffrey	Florida S U
Harvard U	Schultheiss, Katrin	Lake Forest C
Harvard U	Strickland, Stuart	Northwestern U
Houston, U of	Haynes, Sam	Texas, Arlington
Howard U	Jalloh, Alusine	Texas, Arlington
Illinois, U of	Colquhoun, Kathleen	Wheeling Jesuit
Illinois, U of	DeFonso, Chet	N Michigan U
Illinois, U of	Yeboah Sampong, Kodjo	Illinois Benedctn
Illinois, Urbana	Crouch, Charles	GeorgiaSouthern
Illinois, Urbana	Kittell, Ellen	Idaho, U of
Illinois, Urbana	Kluggeler, Thomas	Auburn, Mntgmr
Indiana, Blmngtn	Bisha, Robin	Kalamazoo C
Indiana U	Luk, Bernard	York U,CAN
Indiana U	Railsback, Rick	Calvin C
Iowa, U of	Bjornstad, Fred	Stockton S C
Iowa, U of	High, Egyirba	Knox C
Iowa, U of	Jellison, Katherine	Ohio U
Johns Hopkins U	Graham, Lisa Jane	Oakland U
Johns Hopkins U	Hardwick, Julie	Texas Christian
Johns Hopkins U	Kamil, Neil D.	Texas, Austin
Johns Hopkins U	Marshall, John	Denver, U of
Johns Hopkins U	Olwell, Robert A.	Texas, Austin
Johns Hopkins U	Sadowsky, Jonathan	Case Wstrn Res
Johns Hopkins U	Wheatley, Helen	Seattle U
Johns Hopkins U	Whitman, Stephen	Gettysburg C
Johns Hopkins U	Wulf, Karin	Old Dominion U
Louisiana S U	Hyde, Samuel	SE Louisiana U
Maryland, CollPk	Hardy, Beatriz	S Carolina, Cstl
Mass, U of	Zeiler, Thomas	Colorado, Bldr
Miami, U of	Arbelaez, Maria	Nebraska, Oma
Michigan S U	Bivins, Mary	Youngstown S
Michigan, U of	Davis, Belinda	Rutgers, NBruns
Michigan, U of	Juster, Susan	Michigan, AnAr
Michigan, U of	Lloyd, Brian D.	UC, Riverside
Michigan, U of	Ransby, Barbara	DePaul U
Michigan, U of	Schroeder, Michael	Michigan, Flint
Minnesota, U of	Hedburg, Mary	Saginaw Valley S
Minnesota, U of	Sinke, Suzanne M.	Clemson U
Minnesota, U of	Soland, Birgitte	Ohio S U
Mississippi, U of	Rodriguez, Neysa	CatholicU, PRico
Missouri, Clmb	Li, Hongshan	Kent S U
Missouri, Clmb	Wilson, Guy C.	Spring Hill C
Missouri, U of	Jungmeyer, Roger	LincolnU, Jfrsn
N Carolina, ChpH	Briggs, Charles	GeorgiaSouthern
N Carolina, ChpH	Hahamovitch, Cindy	William & Mary
N Carolina, ChpH	K'Meyer, Tracy	New Mexico S U
N Carolina, U of	Steinweis, Alan	Nebraska, Lncn
N Carolina, U of	Workman, Andrew	Mills C
New Mexico, Uof	Brunk, Samuel	Nebraska, Lncn
New Mexico, Uof	DeMark, Judith	N Michigan U
New York U	Bao, Xiaolan	Cal S, LngBch
New York U	Caulfield, Sueann	Michigan, AnAr
Northwestern U	Meigs, Samantha	Indianapolis, U of
Ohio S U	Bagchi, Kaushik	Goucher C
Ohio U	Zhang, Shu-Guang	Maryland, CollPk
Penn, U of	Karras, Alan	Tennessee, Knox
Penn, U of	Martin, Alexander	Oglethorpe U
Penn, U of	Wailoo, Kieth	N Carolina, ChpH
Pittsburgh, U of	Uribe, Victor	Florida Int'l U
Princeton U	Berkey, Jonathan	Davidson C
Princeton U	Bix, Amy	Iowa S U
Princeton U	Clark, Geoffrey	Emory U
Princeton U	Corbett, Barbara	Amherst C
Princeton U	Greene, Molly	Princeton U
Princeton U	Katz, Jonathan	Oregon S U
Princeton U	Lewinstein, Keith	Smith C
Princeton U	Nightingale, Carl	Mass, Amherst

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Princeton U	Stone, Marla	Occidental C
Princeton U	Tsutsui, William	Kansas, U of
Princeton U	Wertheimer, John	Davidson C
Rochester, U of	Kelly, Catherine	Case Wstrn Res
Rutgers U	Rappaport, Erika	Florida Int'l U
Rutgers U	Silverman, Lisa	S California, U of
Rutgers U	Zinsser, Judith	Miami U, Oxford
S California, U of	Marianetti, Marie	CUNY, Lehman
S Carolina, U of	Prince, Jr., Eldred	S Carolina, Cstl
Stanford U	Delph, Ronald	E Michigan U
Stanford U	Ethington, Philip	S California, U of
Stanford U	McGreevy, John	Harvard U
Stanford U	Scott, Daryl	Columbia U
SUNY, Buffalo	Stauff, Jon	St Ambrose U
Texas A & M U	Hatley, Paul	Fort Hays S U
Texas A & M U	LaVere, David	N Carolina, Wlm
Texas, Austin	Byrnes, Mark	Monmouth C
Texas, Austin	Sullivan-Gonzalez, D.	Mississippi, U of
Texas, U of	Cook, Noble	Florida Int'l U
Texas, U of	Hosmer, Brian	SUNY, Oswego
Texas Christian	Bailey, Anne	Arkansas, Ftvl
Tulane U	Curcio-Nagy, Linda	Nevada, Reno
Tulane U	Green, Elna	Sweet Briar C
UC, Berkeley	Cole, Joshua	Georgia, U of
UC, Berkeley	Creager, Angela	Princeton U
UC, Berkeley	Farmer, Sarah	Iowa, U of
UC, Berkeley	Gibbs, Michael	Denver, U of
UC, Berkeley	Hanes, Jeffrey	Oregon, U of
UC, Berkeley	Koreman, Megan	Texas Tech
UC, Berkeley	Mitchell, Reid	Maryland, Ctnsvl
UC, Berkeley	Moy, Timothy	New Mexico, Uof
UC, Berkeley	Rasnaswamy, Sumathi	Penn, U of
UC, Berkeley	Remensnyder, Amy	Brown U
UC, Berkeley	Schwartz, Vanessa	American U
UC, Berkeley	Weeks, Theodore	S Illinois, Crbndl
UC, Davis	Lawes, Carolyn	Old Dominion U
UC, Los Angeles	Clansy, Benjamin	St Rose, C of
UC, Los Angeles	Kalia, Ravi	CUNY, City C
UC, Los Angeles	Matsuda, Matt	Rutgers, NBruns
UC, Los Angeles	Mazumdar, Sucheta	Duke U
UC, Los Angeles	Pegueros, Rosemarie	RhodeIsland,Uof
UC, Los Angeles	Restall, Matthew	Southwestern U
UC, Los Angeles	Ritchie, Robert	UC, Los Angeles
UC, Los Angeles	Simon, Larry J.	W Michigan U
UC, Los Angeles	Smith, Richard Cándida	Michigan, AnAr
UC, Riverside	Gullett, Gayle	Arizona S U
UC, St Barbara	Furlong, Patrick	Alma C
UC, St Barbara	Manchuelle, François	Bowdoin C
UC, St Barbara	Tanner, Heather Jean	Bates C
Virginia, U of	Akyeampong, Emmanuel	Harvard U
Virginia, U of	Cullather, Nick	Indiana, Blmngtn
Virginia, U of	Ifkovic, John	Cntrl Connecticut
Virginia, U of	Pratt, Edward	William & Mary
Washington S U	Ore, Janet	Youngstown S
Washington U	Risedorph, Kimberly	Nebraska Wslyn
Washington, U of	Reiff, Janice	UC, Los Angeles
William & Mary	Blouet, Jocleyn	Virginia S U
Wisconsn, Madsn	Armstrong, John	Wisconsn, RiverF
Wisconsn, Madsn	Hachten, Elizabeth	Wisconsn, Whitew
Wisconsn, Madsn	Khalid, Adeeb	Carleton C
Wisconsn, Madsn	Lunn, Joe	Michigan, Drbrn
Wisconsn, Madsn	Neth, Mary C.	American U
Wisconsn, Madsn	Thurner, Mark W.	Florida, Gnsvl
Wisconsn, U of	Brown, Kathleen	Rutgers, NBruns
Wisconsn, U of	Crider, Gregory	Drake U
Wisconsn, U of	Holter, D.	UC, Los Angeles
Wisconsn, U of	Leist, Stephen	Georgetown C
Yale U	Baum, David	Skidmore C
Yale U	Dickinson, Frederick	Penn, U of
Yale U	Glickstein, Jonathan	UC, St Barbara
Yale U	Godshalk, David	Shippensburg
Yale U	Greene, Julia	Colorado, Bldr
Yale U	Kamensky, Jane	Brandeis U
Yale U	Karras, Ruth	Temple U
Yale U	Ladd-Taylor, Molly	York U,CAN
Yale U	Luebke, David M.	Bennington[NTG]
Yale U	Shapiro, Carolyn	Grand Valley S
Yale U	Sheriff, Carol	William & Mary
Yale U	Tiersten, Lisa	Barnard C
Yale U	Varon, Elizabeth	Wellesley C
Yale U	Wickberg, Daniel	Colgate U
Yale U	Ye, Weill	Mass, Boston
Yale U	Yoo, David	ClaremntMcKenna
Yale U	Zonderman, David	N Carolina S U
CAN-Manitoba	Mochoruk, James	N Dakota, U of
CAN-McMaster	Evenden, Doreen	Mt St Vincent ,CAN
CAN-Queen's U	Tillotson, Shirles	Dalhousie U,CAN
CAN-Toronto	Loeb, Lori	S Carolina, Clm
CAN-Toronto	McKee, Sally	Wisconsn, Oshk
CAN-York U	Cruikshank, Ken	McMaster U,CAN
CIS-Perm S U	Strokanov, Alexandre	Gardner-Webb C
UK-Cambridge	Armitage, David	Columbia U
UK-Cambridge	Craig, John	Simon Fraser,CAN
UK-Cambridge	Dettelbach, Michael	Smith C
UK-Cambridge	Dunstan, Helen	Indiana S U
UK-Cambridge	Wabuda, Susan	Fordham U
UK-LondonEcon	Esenwien, George R.	Florida, Gnsvl
UK-Oxford U	Harrison, Carol	Auburn U
UK-Oxford U	Lee, Stephen	Brit Columbia,CAN
UK-Oxford U	Leyser, Charles	Wellesley C
UK-Oxford U	MacKenzie, Simon	S Carolina, Clm
UK-Oxford U	Ritschel, Daniel	Maryland, Ctnsvl

LANGUAGES & LITERATURES, OTHER

Chicago, U of	Molasky, Michael	Connecticut C
Columbia U	Bernadi, Joanne	Rochester, U of
Cornell U	Goldring, Luin	Illinois, Chicago
Cornell U	Ingebritsen, Christine	Washington, U of
Florida S U	Magnuson, Larry	Austin Peay S
Hawaii, U of	Lee, Young Hee	Smith C
Michigan, U of	Uehara, Satoshi	Wellesley C
New Mexico, Uof	Wadia, Mickey	Austin Peay S
New York U	Chao, Der-Lin	Connecticut C
Ohio U	Suwarno, Peter	Arizona S U
Oregon, U of	Tsuboi, Noriko	Gettysburg C
Penn S U	Khan, Yoshimitsu	Union C (NY)
Penn, U of	McMahon, John	Le Moyne C
Princeton U	Beaumont, Daniel	Rochester, U of
S California, U of	Mudrovcic, Marie	Nevada, Reno
Stanford U	Ortiz, Victor	Illinois, Chicago
SUNY, Stny Brk	Chen, Mao	Skidmore C
UC, Berkeley	Blum, Mark	Florida Atlantic
UC, Berkeley	Dworkin, Kenya	Carnegie Mellon
UC, Davis	De Rofols, Fred	Nevada, Reno
UC, Los Angeles	Egbert, Maria M.	Texas, Austin
UC, Los Angeles	Holt, Dennis	S Connecticut
UC, Los Angeles	Ohta, Amy	Cal S, LosAngls
UC, St Cruz	Sandoval, Chela	UC, St Barbara
Washington, U of	Motoyama, Mutsuko	Illinois Weslyn
Wisconsn, Madsn	Goldstaub, Dianne	Illinois Weslyn
Yale U	Cherniack, Susan	Colorado, Bldr
Yale U	Kuntz, Mary	Auburn U
CAN-Toronto	Rivas-Rivas, Emilia J.	Brock U,CAN

LINGUISTICS

Arizona, U of	Crowhurst, Megan J.	Yale U
Cal S, LngBch	Fulbright, Patricia	Clark C (WA)
Cornell U	Kaplan, Tamar	Iowa, U of
Cornell U	Silva, David	Texas, Arlington
Illinois, Urbana	Hancin-Bhatt, Barbara	Utah, U of
Indiana U	Wilhelm, Kim	S Illinois, Crbndl
Mass, Amherst	Portner, Paul	Georgetown U
Mass, Amherst	von Fintel, Kai	MIT
Michigan, U of	Miller, Barry	York U,CAN
MIT	Collins, Christopher	Cornell U
MIT	Czaykowska-Higgins, Eva	Victoria, CAN
MIT	Li, Yafei	Wisconsn, Madsn
Ohio S U	Johnson, Keith	Ohio S U
Ohio S U	Jun, S.	UC, Los Angeles
Oregon, U of	Gildea, Spike	Rice U
Rutgers U	Gang, Yue	N Carolina, ChpH
Stanford U	Kemmer, Suzanne	Rice U
Stanford U	Paolillo, John	Texas, Arlington
SUNY	Li, Frank	Cal S, Chico
UC, Berkeley	Hasegawa, Yoko	UC, Berkeley
UC, Los Angeles	Clark, Robin	Penn, U of
UC, Los Angeles	Cumming, Sandra	UC, St Barbara
UC, Los Angeles	McIntire, Narina	Northeastern U
UC, San Diego	Achard, Aaron C.	Florida, Gnsvl
CAN-BritColumb	Bessell, Nicola J.	Texas, Austin
CAN-Victoria	Lin, Hua	Victoria, U of,CAN
ISR-Tel Aviv	Hatav, Galia	Florida, Gnsvl
UK-Edinburgh	Broe, Michael	Northwestern U

MATHEMATICS

American U	Gezmu, Misrak	American U
American U	McShea, Maureen	American U
Arizona, U of	Zou, Maorong	Texas, Austin
Auburn U	Darji, Udayan	Louisville, U of
Auburn U	Ma, Daniel K.	Tuskegee U
Boston C	Alexander, Daniel	Drake U
Bowling Green S	Koswatta, Muhandiramge	Kent S U
Brooklyn Poly	Kemp, Franklin	E Texas S U
Brown U	Hironaka, Eriko	Stanford U
Brown U	Lieman, Daniel	Columbia U
Cal Tech	Feres, Renato	Washington U
Cal Tech	Haller, Gyorgy	Brown U
Carnegie Mellon	Ensley, Douglas	Shippensburg
Carnegie Mellon	Hou, Lisheng	York U,CAN
Chicago, U of	Zhu, Shunhui	Dartmouth C
Clemson U	Narayanan, C.	Loyola, Chicago
Colorado, Bldr	Bricher, Stephen	Linfield C
Colorado S U	Molina, Robert	Alma C
Cornell U	Anderson, Bruse	Kent S U
Cornell U	Bridson, Martin	Princeton U
Cornell U	He, Kun	Kansas, U of
Cornell U	Housman, David	Allegheny C
Cornell U	Jayanti, Prasad	Dartmouth C
Cornell U	Neuhauser, Claudia M.	Wisconsn, Madsn
Cornell U	Radhakrishnan, Jagadeesan	Loyola, Chicago
Cranfield Tech	Karni, Smadar	Temple U
Dartmouth C	Peterson, Annalisa	SE Mass U
Duke U	Grassi, Antonella	Penn, U of
Duke U	McDonald, Michael	Occidental C
Florida S U	Lee, Stephen	Idaho, U of
G Washington U	Chistman, Mary C.	G. Washington U
Georgia, U of	Hines, Gwendolyn	Nebraska, Lncn
Harvard U	Caporaso, Lucia	Harvard U
Harvard U	Janowsky, Steven A.	Texas, Austin
Harvard U	Keating, Kevin P.	Florida, Gnsvl
Harvard U	Li, Jun	Stanford U
Harvard U	Morelli, Robert	Utah, U of
Harvard U	Savin, Gordon	Utah, U of
Harvard U	Youssin, Boris	Indiana, Blmngtn
Illinois, U of	Hulett, Heather	Miami U, Oxford
Illinois, Urbana	Bialek, Paul	Wooster, C of
Illinois, Urbana	Kim, Saeja	SE Mass U
Illinois, Urbana	Snevily, Hunter	Idaho, U of
Illinois, Urbana	Will, Todd	Davidson C
Indiana U	Leitzel, James	Nebraska, Lncn
Iowa S U	Dunnigan, Gerri	N Dakota, U of
Iowa, U of	El Barmi, Hammou	Texas, Austin
Iowa, U of	Melin, Juan	Cntrl Connecticut
Iowa, U of	Oberg, Todd	LincolnU, Jfrsn
Iowa, U of	Smith, Karen	St Peter's C
Kansas S U	Lloyd, Michael	Henderson S U
Kentucky, U of	Stevens, Jennifer	Tennessee, Knox
Louisiana S U	Berger, Ruth	Luther C
Maryland, CollPk	Langrall, Cynthia	Illinois S U
Maryland, CollPk	Noh, Sam H.	G. Washington U
Maryland, CollPk	Zhang, Zhimin	Texas Tech
Maryland, U of	Taylor, Graham	Florida Int'l U
Memphis S U	Bowman, Dale	Mississippi, U of
Michigan, U of	Meerschaert, Mark	Nevada, Reno
Michigan, U of	Nieves, Lamberto	St Peter's C
Michigan, U of	Santos, David	N Texas, U of
Minnesota, U of	Clyde, Merlise	Duke U
Minnesota, U of	Collins, Charles	Tennessee, Knox
Minnesota, U of	Crawmer, Martha	Wisconsn, RiverF
Minnesota, U of	Day, Roger	Illinois S U

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Minnesota, U of	Krebsbach, Kurt	Shippensburg
Minnesota, U of	Kumanduri, Ramanujachary	Columbia U
Minnesota, U of	Stabler, Heidi	E Texas S U
Minnesota, U of	TenHuisen, Matthew	N Carolina, Wlm
Minnesota, U of	Wetzel, Nathan	SUNY, Bngmtn
MIT	Grossberg, Michael	Columbia U
MIT	Julian, Edward	Florida Int'l U
MIT	Toth, John	Harvard U
Montana S U	Smith, Ralph	Iowa S U
Montana, U of	St. George, Greg	Montana, U of
N Carolina, ChpH	Das, Shubhabrata	Montana, U of
N Carolina, ChpH	Ganter, Freida	Mississippi, U of
N Carolina, ChpH	Shotsberger, Paul	N Carolina, Wlm
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